

**A  
BRIEFE HISTORIE  
OF THE GLORIOUS**

**MARTYRDOM OF XII. REVE-  
rend Priests, executed vvithin these vvelluemo-  
nethes for confession and defence of the CA-  
THOLIKE FAITH. But vvnder the false pre-  
sence of TREASON.**

Vvith a note of sundrie things that besel them in their life  
and imprisonment : and a preface declaring their  
innocencie.

Set furth by such as were much conuersant vvith  
them in their life, and present at their  
arraignment and death.

*Occidistis, sed non possedistis.*  
that is

You haue slaine them, but  
you haue not gotten  
possession.

# THE NAMES OF THESE GLORIOUS MARTYRES VVITH the day and yere of their suffering.

- F**ATHER Edmund Campion of the so-  
cietie of IESVS. the j. of Decemb. 1581.  
M. Raph Shervvine. the same day.  
M. Alexander Bryan. the same day.  
M. Thomas Ford. the xxviij. of May, 1582.  
M. Iohn Sherre. the same day.  
M. Robert Iohnson. the same day.  
M. Vvilliam Philbee. the xxx. of May, 1582.  
M. Luke Kirbie. the same day.  
M. Lavvrence Richardson aliâs Iohnson, the same  
day.  
M. Thomas Cottam. the same day.  
M. Iohn Paine. the ij. of April, 1582.  
M. Euerard Haunse. the last of Iuly, 1581.



# THE PREFACE TO the Reader.

**I**T was euer the fashion of the *beathens*, but much more of *Apostatats* and *Heretikes* reuoluted from the Church: when they deadly hated and persecuted the **CATHOLIKE CHRISTIANS**, and specially **GODES PRIESTS** being the guides and Pastors of that flocke they seeke to destroy, yet of purpose and pollicie pretend other causes of their punishment more hateful to the world then matter of faith and conscience.

So did the *Arrian Emperors* and their *Bishops* accuse Holy *Athanasius* of *Nigromancie*, *adulterie* and *conspiracie*. So did the president of *Pontus* an officer of *Valens* the heretical prince, persecut *S. Basil* for his religion, but vnder pretence of an other crime, in so much that to the wonder of the world, he caused his chambre which the Angels of God (as *S. Gregorie Nazianzen* writeth) did reuerence for puritie, to be sought by his officers for a woman. So did *Iulianus the Apostata*, endeavoring to extinguishe the Christian faith, and to preferre Paganisme, cōdemne the Clergie to death and exile: vnder pretense of diuers crimes, and namely of sedition falsely forged against them. So did the *Vandals* being *Heretikes* also, extremely plague the *Catholikes* in *Aphrike*: accusing them that they had secret conference by messengers and letters vvith the Romans against them. So did the Emperesse *Theodora* a woman of the *Eutichian beresie*,

Ruffin histo.  
Naz. orat.  
De Basilio.  
Tripart. lib.  
6. c. 17.  
Victor de  
persecut.  
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So thy new  
faine inter-  
ception of  
letters, for  
the condem-  
nation of  
holy men.

cruelly persecut Pope *Siluerius* and the Clergie :  
saying that her counsel had intercepted their letters  
vvhcreby they called in the *Goths* and forraine  
powver to inuade the Citie of *Rome* & the Empire,  
when al the world knew she persecuted them  
for their religion, and that they were neuer guiltie  
of any such offences.

This shamful sutteltie and too foule and brode  
deceit vvas neuer so notoriously vsed as in the  
late persecutions and practises of protestants, spe-  
cially in *England* against the *CATHOLIKES*: in  
vvhich, such as are not skilful in the old histories  
of the *Church*, may as in a glasse behold at once al  
the miseries that she hath suffered in this kinde of  
calumniation by the *Arians*, the *Goths*, the *Vandals*,  
the *Lumbards*, the *Donatistes*, *Entichians*, *Mahometists*,  
*Hussists*, *Hugonots*, and by what other sort in times  
past or present so euer. I neede not put you in  
minde how not many yeres sithence they arrai-  
gued to the great shame and confusion, the most  
Reuerend father and Confessor, the *Arch-bishop* of  
*Armakean* for rape: or how the *Ministers of Satan*  
charged of late the blessed Martyr & Priest of God  
*M. Thomas Cottam* at his execution, with adulterie  
committed in *Fish-streat*, or such like damnable  
fictions: which without al free of God or shame  
of men, the protestants print, preach, and geue out  
wittingly against *Priests*, *religions* and *Catholikes*, to  
beguile the poore people most subiect to such  
trumperie, through their simplicitie.

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the Archbi-  
shop of Ar-  
makean.

Seethe storie  
of his death.

The meanig  
of the au-  
thor in this  
treatise.

My meaning is specially by Gods helpe to set  
furth in *English* & lay befor the eyes of al thos of  
our realme that were not present at the deathes or  
arraignment of the late famous men and Martyrs,  
*M. Campion* and his happie fellovves: and in latine  
and other langages to the vvhole *Christian* world  
for a spectacle of heretical crueltie and *Macheuil-  
lian* practises, how by coulor of contriued treason  
and

and conspiracie ( the cause in dede-being religion) the ennemies of the Christian faith haue shed their innocent blood to the infinite shame of our Nation befor men, and no lesse peril of destruction of our vvhole common wealthe, by Gods iust iudgement: who euer reuengeth such publike iniquitie by inducing some great and common calamitie: NOTE.

from which CHRIST of his mercie, saue our countrie, for their sake ( which are innumerable) that haue not consented to this iniquitie, how soeuer it seeme othervvise to proceed frō publike authoritie. But to the matter: after that it vvas agreed vpon by such as God hath geuen powver ouer vs, that the holy *Confessors* whom they had in their hands should be made away, because diuers of thē were farre better lerned then any of their sect could withstand: and also zelous, as none could sturre them from their faith and fellovvs hip of the CATHOLIKE AND ROMAIN CHVRCH, thinking it not good to kil them for their religiō, they sought out vvith al arte and diligence how to find or faine handsomely any matter that colorably might be dravven to treason, or any capital crime, in the old sence of our lawes.

The causes why they would not put them directly for their faith and conscience to death ( Notvvithstanding they had not long before made diuers lawes forcible inough for that purpose, whereby sundrie principles and exercises of CHRISTIAN FAITH were made HIGH TREASON, a lamentable case, that our countrey is fallen to ) were these, partely common to al old heretikes, partely peculier to our countrey and present state. The causes vvhy they rather executed them for pretended treason, the true religiō.

First, the cases of religion are diuers, according as euery mans conscience is informed where other crimes of what sort so euer are agreed vpon

4 ij. of al hands to be punishable. Secondly, religion to wordly men specially to many *Asbiefts* novv a daies whom men cal, honestly *politikes*: seemeth not material any farther then as it pertaineth to the preseruation or destruction of the ciuil state.

iiij. Thirdly, for that it is impossible or exceding hard to persvade men of any wit or capacitie that, to professe that religion should be an offence wor-  
thie death, which al our ovne auncesters and al nations round about vs so many hundereth yeres together yvere christened in and haue liued, died, and been saued in, and is defended at this day as cleerely as the sunne against the protestants, both in our realme and al the Christian world beside.

iiij. Fourthly, for that they can not put vs to death by any coulour of equitie as for our religion, hauing no lavy nor determination of councel, schole or parlement, that hath made it heresie, and to cal it treason, though them selues haue made it so, is to much mockery. Fifthly, for that our heretikes hold for their ovne special fastie, that none should be executed for their conscience, & that they would be counted both at home and abroad in such cases meeke and clement, and not blouddy as they say the Papists were towarde them, when the stasse was in their handes.

vj. Sixtely, for that the executing of them for the CATHOLIKE RELIGION, whereof daily more and more are zelous fauorers in England: might bread great daungers and discontentment to the euident peril of the whole state, which they haue brought into such straite tearmes by this neyv religion, that it can not be vpholden but by much iniustice. Seuenthy, the pretence of other crimes specially of the inuasion of the realme, bringeth the zelous Catholikes and namely Gods Priests into great hatered not onely amongst the protestants, but among others wel affected in religion,

vij. Seeking the destruction of both sorts they would put at vari-

ligion, though not so strong to stand to the losse of their life and goods: whereby they subtilly seeke to make a diuision betwene the two sorts of weaker and stronger Catholikes, for the easier ouerthrow of them both, in deede hating and fering no lesse the crosse dissembler, then open professor.

since the Ca-  
tholikes a-  
mongest the  
selues.

Lastely, they thought good rather to charge them vvith treason then religion, thereby to haue better coulour to afflict and spoile more deeply al such of the Nobilitie or worship, as they found or fained or hereafter shal forge to haue harbored and relicued them, or conuersed with them. And then to terrifie al Priests as they thought aftervvard for entering into the realme, & the subiects within for receiuing them or sending their sonnes to be brought vp in the societie or seminarie.

viii.

Vpon these and such like wordly considerations they did not onely pretend to endite condemne and execute them for contriued treason against the Q. ovvnerial person and realme: specifying for the better couloring of the collusion, daies, places, persons and maner of executing their intents: but therevvith denounced and protested publikely, both in open court and printed proclamation and bookes, that they ment nothing in al this bloody pursute for any matter of religion or conscience.

But God that streight discovered this cruel stratageme, and easely ouer-reacheth the wisdom of the wise, speadely hath met with their humane counsaills and put the persecutors, to double confusion in the sight of the whole world. once for making them avvay in deede for religion, for which they vv ere neither arraigned nor condemned: & secondly, for killing them for that offence which at the racke, barre, and their death, they inuincibly shewed them selues in the sight and con-

The perse-  
cutors put  
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uernement.

By their  
praſiſe the  
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God, haue  
receiued  
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ſcience as wel of Proteſtants as Catholikes, to be  
as innocent as any Saint or Angel in heauen.  
Vwherevpon though ſome ſeuere hote *Puritans*,  
were wel contented to ſee them by what means  
ſo euer out of their way: yet the more prudent of  
euery ſort marueled much at that vnwonted impo-  
litique proceeding, being very ſorowful to ſee  
thereby her M<sup>tie</sup> honorable iuſtice, and her moſt  
graue counſellers actions, ſo notoriously and cou-  
lorably ſubiected to reproſe, as in no caſe in mans  
memorie, or in the records of antiquitie, hath been  
lightly marked the like. Vwhereof I could report  
the very words and communication of certaine  
principal perſons of ſervice the day of arraigne-  
ment, and actors in that bloody tragedy, complai-  
ning after their departure thence one to an other  
of the matter and of the ſhame of that daies  
worke.

But I may not name them, leſt they ſhould in-  
curre daunger thereby: though if any of our aduer-  
ſaries ſtand with me againſt the truth thereof, I wil  
not ſticke, though to their ſome litle rebuke, to  
vtter to Gods honor and theſe his bleſſed Sainctes,  
who for the double confuſion their perſecutors  
haue receiued, are doubly glorified, firſt with the  
crown of Martyrdom for coſſeſſion of their faith,  
which was the true cauſe of their death: and alſo  
with the noble renome and rewarde of ſuch, as be  
innocēt of the fault: whereof they were executed,  
which was the caſe of Abel, and others murdered  
through enuie or malice of man, ſpecially as Na-  
both was by falſe accuſation, that he had ſpoken  
wordes againſt God and the king.

Vwhich kinde of iniquitie vſed againſt inno-  
cent men, maketh their deaths alſo pretious in our  
Lords ſight. And men alſo of what religion or  
conſcience ſo euer, when they ſee any man (hovv-  
ſo euer he otherwiſe deſerueth) to be guiltles of  
the

the crime for which he dieth, they pitie the case naturally, and condemne in their harts and detest, that iniurious course of proceeding in place where iustice and iudgement should raigne.

Vvhich also hath dravven many (thankes be to God) to consider better of the true cause of their punishment, which was the CATHOLIKE RELIGION, and of the protestants actions and conscienceles faith, that can not be vpholden but by such sinful pollicie and patchery. Trevvly for vs that through CHRISTS grace be Catholike, if they had not vsed this matter in such an odde sort, to bring not onely these men of God, but the vvhole Catholike flocke of Christs afflicted CHURCH in our countrey, into the sclaundorous suspitiō & obloquie of crimes neuer thought of: but onely executed their nevv lawes against them, and made them avvay for religion without more a doe, we should neuer haue complained of any farther iniquitie or violence done against vs, but haue compted it as an act proceeding of their erronious conscience and vnskilful zele in condemning the professors of truth, for false teachers. But novv vpon this double witting and wilful iniquitie, if we should hold our peace, heauen & earth would condemne vs, and we should be partakers of the vengeance that the cry of this innocent and sacred blood calleth for at Gods hand against their persecutors.

Protestants  
conscienceles.  
They them  
selues haue  
ministred  
the cause of  
all these vvri-  
tings in de-  
fence of  
Gods Saints.

Alas we that knevv them to the very bottome of their harts, with whom they conuerfed so sincerely and confidently, in vvwhose hovvses they were harbored so often, what they daily talked in al familiaritie and secrecie, heard our confessions, deliuered vs the holy Sacraments, preached to vs so commonly, and yet neuer heard word nor half vvord of these supposed intentions against her M. and the state: though their false accusers say it was their

The testi-  
monie of  
Catholikes  
with whom  
they liued.

their proper commission to deale vvith vs for to admit inuasion of strangers, and to vvith dravv our selues from our soueraines obedience; vve therfor for their cleering and our ovvne in that case, and al the Catholikes in the realme, cal God and his holy Angelsto vvitnes, that these men of God vvcre most iniuriously, and vvilfully murdered.

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tement.

And as we their frends in England acquainted with al their actions sithence their repaire into the realme, can testifie this vpon our ovvne certaine knowvledge: and the forraine Princes whose instruments they were fained to be for inuading the land, and the Superiours of their Societie and Colledges by whose appointement and direction they came in, can and wil, if neede be, giue authentical intelligence vpon their honors and conscience of the truth hereof. So may euery man that was present either at their examining, racking, arrainging or death: or that hath heard of the same, or of the strange course of proceeding tovvards them either before their condemnation or aftervvard, cleerely behold the same.

To proue that they practised the Q. death at Rome and Remes, and inuasion of the realme by forraine povvers in the xxij yere of her M. raigne, the last of March and last of May and diuers other times, which was the effect of their enditement: there was neither w itnes, confession of the parties, probable presumptions, nor any word spoken, or euidence in the world, that was to the point of the enditement, or that could touch any of them that vvcre vpon the same enditement arraigned the second day.

They charged them al vvith one crime of conspiracie: diuers of them neuer seeing one an other before they came to that barre in their liues, nor neuer writing one to an other, nor proued by any testimonie or presumptiō that euer any tvvo of them

to

together, or any one alone had any such talke or  
intention of conspiracie.

The Q. counsel charged them vvith no other  
thing al that day long, but vvith other mens faults,  
not being able to proue that they al, or any of them,  
ouer consented vnto them: yea and vvith diuers  
things, whereof they could none of them possibly  
be partakers. As the insurrection of the North, the  
Commotiō in Irland, the Popes excommunication  
of the Q. D. *Saunders* writings, D. *Bristowes* motives  
D. *Allens* approuing the booke, letters intercepted  
of I can not tel whom, of what, or to whom: with  
iphers and charecters that could not be read, but  
yet must needes meane some persons, places, and  
preparations for inuasion.

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They were  
charged on-  
ly vvith  
other mens  
faults.

And when the poore innocent men cried for  
iustice to the Q. counsel that they would not am-  
plifie against them to the abusing of the Iury, other  
mens offences: To the Lord cheefe Iustice, that for  
the honor of God and fauor of innocencie, he  
would not suffer them to be charged with matters  
that neither touched them nor the enditement:  
To the Tyvelue that for discharge of their deutes  
and conscience they would consider maturely  
whether any of these accusations touched them, &  
Iustices desired them for the loue of C H R I S T,  
when any thing might seeme to be said for eui-  
dence against them, to marke whether it pertaine  
to al or some, & to vvhom specially, lest al should  
be cast avway for one mans offense, or one for an  
other. Vvhich might easely be done in such con-  
fuse huddeling of purpose against them, of al the  
reasons and trespasses committed in England or  
vvith out, for that tyventie yeres.

These insti-  
tutions of  
the innocent  
men, vvhere  
not at al re-  
garded.

Yet litle eare vvvas giuen of any hand to so iust  
a demandaund, but stil they enlarged their accusation  
and euidence vvith other mens faults, because the  
poore men them selues had committed none. Yea  
such

A damnable  
pollicie.

As *M. Paine*  
vvas.

They execu-  
ted one man  
for an other.

The iniqui-  
tie of the  
Iudge.

Publike in-  
iurie farre  
more gre-  
uous then  
priuat.

such arte and conueiſance was vſed in this matter to make other mens offenses to ſeeme to the Iurie to be theirs; or at leſt to be true of their fellowes that they purpoſſy toke order that ſome, whoſe pretended crimes, conſpiracies & confeſſion, were produced for euidence, againſt thoſe that were arraigned the firſt day, ſhould nor them ſelues be preſent, becauſe they could eaſely haue anſwered and refuted them, but be arraigned an other day, & ſome, in other places, after theſe ſhould be condemned.

So *M. Hart*, if he had been there, could eaſely haue reprobued whatſoeuer they ſaid, he had confeſſed vpon the racke. So if *M. Richardson* whoſe name and perſon was wholly miſtaken euen til his death, had been arraigned the former day, as he was the later, *M. Campion* might be like haue diſcharged him. But ſpecially in the matter pretended againſt *M. Paine*, the *L. Cheefe Juſtice* that ſhould haue been indifferent betwixt her *M.* and theſe deſolat perſons, committed notorious partialitie and iniuſtice to ſuffer euidence to be brought in, and an othe to be miniſtred to a witnes for profe thereof, when it concerned onely one abſent, and touched none of them preſent: which ſhameful wrong was committed to make that odious matter whereof the euidence was giuen, in the ſight of the Iurie to pertaine to thoſe that then were arraigned: compting al guiltie that there were at the barre, of what crime ſoeuer was thereof any man abſent diſcouered.

The moſt pietiful practiz that euer vvas heard of to ſhed innocent bloud by face of publike iuſtice. Vvhich is a thouſand times before God more damnable and puniſhable by his diuine powver, then if mans life were taken from him by priuate murder.

Moreouer many of them were arraigned and condemned for a fact ſained to be committed in thoſe

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those places (that is to say at Rome and Rhemes)  
and times, in the xxij of her M. raigne, and such  
day of March and of May, of which some were  
neither place in their life, as *M. Ford* and *M. Col-*  
*lington*: some had not been there of some yeres  
before, as *M. Sherte*: some not at that time nor many  
moneths before, as *M. Brian* and *M. Richardson*: and  
*M. Collington* had not by, Gods providence had  
he present to testifie for him that he had been in  
England long before that time when the conspi-  
racie was fained to be made, he had died as the rest.  
and some of the rest being as certainly knowen  
to have been in England that time and before as he  
was, yet were wickedly condemned for that fact  
then there committed, when al the world knowveth  
that they were not there. Yea *M. Brian* had witnes  
hereof as wel as *M. Collington*. (By a pore sent vs out  
of the regester booke of the Colledg of Remes, we  
find that *M. Brian* departed there hence tovvards  
England, the iij of August. 1579 which was viij  
moneths before the sermon was made, at which  
*Sledd* and *Munday* affirme *M. Brian* to have been)  
but al is one for these that were there in either of  
the places those daies of this fiction, al the world  
knowveth they savv no conspiracie, but Masse,  
Mattins, lectures, disputations and such exercises  
are done every day in the yere, or if there had  
been any thing that way contrived, who is such a  
foole to thinke, that this deliberation was kept  
among the common schollers and Priests of the  
places pretended, and that *Sledd*, *Munday*, and such  
chancel were made priue therevnto.

What wil you more, if the iudgement had been  
done in *Tindal*, and *Tinidal* for wreke of deadly  
reude it could not have been more barbarous and  
unjust.

Consider a litle of the witnesses, first they were  
such as neuer savv, knevv, nor scarce hard tel of  
Of the vvir-  
nesses.  
some

drawn vpon  
 benediction  
 of the vvit-  
 nesses  
 3557

Eliot found  
 a false liar.

The qualitie  
 & conditions  
 of the vvit-  
 nesses.

some of them whom they accused and bare testi-  
 monie against. Neither *Sledd* nor *Munday* ever saw  
*M. Campion*, *Bosgrane*, *Ford*, *Brian*, *Collington*, *Richardson*,  
*Shert* or *Filbie*, in their lities, before their troubles:  
 neither would nor could they ever haue thought  
 of them, if they had not by chaunce been taken and  
 in prison at the same time that these seve of the o-  
 ther vvhom they knew, were in durance also: but  
 to make them all avay, they were contented to  
 sweare to the evidence indifferently against them  
 all, as they would haue done (their conscience was  
 so at commaundement) against all the priests and  
 Catholike men in England if they had been requir-  
 ed. *Eliot*, that was the third person and vvitness  
 in this bloudy play, neuer saw *F. Campion* but at  
 his Masse and Sermon the day of his betraying: vpon  
 certaine vvordes of vvich sermon, vvhen he  
 gaue evidence against the good Father, that he ex-  
 hortet men to the obedience of the **POPE**: he was  
 fully confounded, and found a false liar before all  
 the bench confessing vpon the Fathers replie, that  
 he remembred not that he spake of the **POPE** in  
 all his sermon.

But let vs consider a litle of the qualities of these  
 vvitnesses, that you may see what instruments the  
 protestants are forced for lacke of better to vse to  
 the affliction of Godly men. They call Priests and  
 Iesuits the **POPE**'s instruments to aduance his  
 intentions: oh good God what difference is there  
 then betvvixt the **POPE**'s instruments and these  
 that the Heretikes onely vse. Vvhat are *Nicols*,  
*Sledd*, *Eliot*, *Munday*, companions knowen to be  
 of no religion, of euery religion, coozeners, dis-  
 semblers, espials, yea & some of them to be charged  
 with aduoutery, murther, and such like crimes, and  
 therefore as wel for lacke of conscience and reli-  
 gion, as for pardon of their faults, most fit to be  
 corrupted, vvhat I say are these the offal of the  
 world

world to be compared in truth and veritie against  
such men, most famous for lerning, vertue, con-  
stancie, contempt of vwordly things, and al vvor-  
thines, which both ennemies and frends savv in  
them. And yet vpon the testimonie of one onely  
of these without any other profes or presumptiōs  
in the vworld worthy the hering, vvas *M. Paine*  
against Gods lawes and the realmes, condemned  
and executed: notvvithstanding he alleaged both  
scriptures and actes of parliament and called for  
iustice in the same.

Vvherein the iniurie was the greater that the  
Apostle expresly geueth order that no accusation  
be hard against a Prielt, vvithout tvvoe witnesses.  
yea and if the glorious doctor *S. Augustine* might  
be heard, none of al these vvitnesses nor a hundreth  
such more should be receiued against these blessed  
confessors. Thus he saith to *Pancarius* an officer,  
and an honorable person before vvhom a certaine  
Priest named *Secundinus* was accused of a great  
crime. *Quod videntur obycere presbytero non est contem-  
nendum, tantum si Catholici sunt qui obyciunt: nam here-  
ticorum accusationes contra Catholicum presbyterum ad-  
mittere nec posimus nec debemus.* That is, *The crime  
vvherevvith they charge this Priest must be looked vnto,  
so alvvaies if those that be his accusers be Catholikes: for  
against a Catholike Priest vve neither can nor ought to  
admit the accusation of heretikes.* Ep. 212.

A  
Notion  
of  
the  
same  
and  
others

Heretikes are  
no sufficient  
vvitnesses a-  
gainst a Ca-  
tholiks Pri-  
est by *S. Au-  
gustins* iud-  
gement.

But novv Gods true religion being abandoned  
out of our miserable countrey through our sinnes,  
the honor of God & reuerent respect of his sacred  
Priests is gone withal: and in steed of priuiledge  
and prerogation graunted to them by diuine and  
humaine lawes, they are most subiect to iniuries,  
villanies, contempt and calumnies, of al conditiōs  
and stats of the realme. One prophan *Doeg*, novv  
being a sufficient witnes to make fourescore and  
fue most innocent Priests traitors, and to be slaine

In this irre-  
ligious time,  
Priests most  
subiect to  
iniuries.

2 Reg. c. 21.

on

on a day. *any has done it before or by*

But to liste better the vworthines and vweight of the forenamed false witnesses as of the cheefe plaiers in this action. Let vs compt the notorious and publike lyes which they haue ysttered for furnishing their wicked accusation and euidence, vwherein to haue the more certaine knowvledg: I haue either by worde of mouth, if the parties be in England, or by letters, if they continue beyond the seas, had aduertisment of most things that these fellovves fayned, to make matter of treason appeare, that by some plaine forgeries you may see of what past the rest are.

A heape of  
Notorious  
lyes, fained  
by *Munday*  
and others.

As of the Martyrologe vvhich *Munday* faineth to be in print in the colledg of Rome, wherein the Martyrdoms of al late traitors very largely are vwritten, as of *Felson*, of *Madder*, of the *Nortons* and such other: it is knowven to be a flat lye, noe such being there at al: That *D. Bristowes* Motiues are commaunded to be read in both the colledges or seminaries of al students, most false: as the superiors of those houses by their letters, and euery scholler here in the realme that euer was of the same, do testifie, who further more affirme by their faith, that there is not iiii. bookes as fare as they thinke in both the hoyvses. Of *D. Allens* Catherisme, it is a like shameles lye: being wel knowven, that he neuer made booke of that title or argumēt: of the same *D.* his sermon in Rome and *F. Persons* speeches against the *Q.* sitting a mid-mong the students, they both, the one by his ovne mouth, the other, by a suer meanes of aduertisment: doe protest vpon their Christian faith and Priesthod (vvhich waieth more in any honest mans iudgement then a world of *Mundaies* and such graceles boyes) that there was neuer no such thing. And in truth they are both to vvise to vtter such matter if it were in their breasts in those places. Neither could

could any such thing be done, but the students then in the colledge could remember it as wel as these leved fellowes, but euery of them as I haue met withal, vpon their saluation disauoueth it. Asthey do al other those horrible speeches of the Queenes killing, that *Munday* so diuillishly deuise to haue been vttered to him there in times of recreation.

An horrible lye.

A like lye it is also, that euery schollar in the A seminarie of Rome, taketh an othe to obey the *Pop* and to fulfil his wil in vwhat soeuer he commaundeth them: for there is no such othe, nor in the colledge of Remes any othe at al. And that euery one that taketh holy orders is not sworne to the *Pop*, as the said lying companiō faineth, the very *Pontifical* vvil witnes. It is an vnttruth likewise that none can be suffered to tarry in the colledges but such as wil be Priests and enter into the same othe or obligation tovvardes the *Pop*.

A palpable lye.

*M. Vvodyard* a venerable vertuous Priest, who *Munday* faineth first to haue geuen him knowvledg of an inuasion as he past by *Amiens*: affirmeth vpon his saluation, that he neuer spake no such word to the vngracious lad, nor could not, because he neuer knevv in deed, nor heard of any such thing.

Vvhat a diuillish lye made *Elior* vvhen he gaue *Eliors* dis-evidence against *M. Paine*, that he should report to him of a plat for killing the *Q.* which he had heard of the *Earle of vvestmerland*, and *D. Allen* at *Dovvay*, vvhen the one of them, he neuer savv in his life, the other he could not see at his last goeing ouer, being then at Rome. Adde to these the lies of the Ministers, affirming that *M. Paine* had confessed so much to a certaine lady, vvhom he neuer savv in his life, and to his ovvne brother vvwhich vvvas likevvise proued most false.

As for *Sleds* inuention of conspiracie made in *D. Mortons* house, vvvas it not very like that he should

*Sleds* in-  
uentions.

should be made acquainted vwith the matter, being and liuing there as a poore knaue, taken vp by D. *Saunderson* of almes, begging of euery body, and knowen of no body, and therefore trusted and vsed no farther of his maister but in seruile things. This man of Belial hath many vvaies vttered him self since his comming from Rome. He confessed to a companion of his, that he had thought to haue slaine good *M. Iohnson* novv executed, comming out of Italie vwith him. he reported in Paris to one *Hierom Vaine* a man of his qualities, that he vvas the first brotcher of those newes in Rome, that the Spanish *Armado* should be for England, and that there to he had aduises out of England, and that of no smale babes. Vwhereby vve may see that al these bruites of confederacies of Pope and princes for inuasion of the realme, and of other fained conspiracies, were purposely geuen out by the arte of heretikes to take occasion thereby, to afflict the men of God.

One spie en-  
structeth an  
other.

Yea the said *Sledd* gaue this *Vaine* aboue named goodly instructions how he should behaue him self in Rome vwithout suspition. This *Sledd*, as corrupt as his conscience is can not deny, and by this token he may remember him self the better that it is true, for he told the partie afor said and an other Gentilman (vvhose name for good respects I vvil not bevvray) that he had been in Rome for such purposes of pollicie (as he termed his spiery) thus long, but vvas euer il paid or considered, of his setters on vvorke. And as impudently as he now boulstereth out lyes, yet when he began first, vvhich was vwith the apprehension of *M. Orton* in Holborne, he offered the Constable iij. pounds in money not to bring him face to face to *M. Orton*, for faith he, it vvould be my vtter discredit: and therevpon hauing descried the party and charged the officer vwith him, he crept away into a pelting Inne

17  
Inne there by, and hid him self vnder the hay, whither the Constable came and fetched him out with strauv about his eares, saying, that if he vvould not come forth with a good vvil, he vvould bring him out vpon a coulestaffe.

I could tel him of his hipocritical sute made in Remes to be a scholler of the seminarie : of the daily frequenting to his damnation, the holy Sacraments both at Rome and aftervvard in Paris: vvhen he had deliuered his lying intelligences to the Lidger there, and taking order of him to go to Remes to take further aduertisment of their state, that he might belie them vvith more probabilitie. And here let any vvifeman iudge, vvwhether he wil feare to sweare a lye, that feareth not to receiue in fiction, the very **B. SACRAMENT**, and that vvvent to confession to a godly father, euen at the very time, when he was to passe into England to play these Iudas his parts.

And them selues that novv vse his seruice to our affliction, knowv and confesse him to be a **VERY VILLAIN**. The *Lieutenant* and *Norton* both, haue so reported of him. *Nortons* wife told her husband, that *Sledd* said once that his sonne was of his complexion, and that al those of that complexion proued wise, to which *Norton* answered, that al *Sledds* wisdom did consist in *abominable knauerie*: wishing his sonne better lucke then to be like such a *treacherer* in conditions. The *Lieutenant* called him, *starcke knave*, because he told the Counsel, that *Nortons* keeper should say, he had novv a Diuel in his keeping and before a Saint, meaning by *F. Campion*. and after he had enformed the Counsel, & promised to proue it by tvvo witnessses and could not: The *Lieutenant* said that he had great facilitie in falshood and lying euen from his cradel. One notable tricke *Norton* and he plaied together at this arraignment, when *Norton* read

The Lieutenant & Nortons verdict of Sledd.

*Norton* vvvas then in the Towver for treason, in the same chamber *F. Campio* was kept in.

the booke at the barre which was pretended to be *Sledds*, and *Sledd* svorne to the euidence.

Traitors by  
an il conse-  
quence.

Peore lo-  
gike.

These loe are the witnesses, such are the false  
sclaunders and the palpable vntruths fained by ma-  
licious practise against the seruants of God, which  
yet if they were true, could not for al that touch any  
of the persons arraigned, none of these false pariur-  
red persons being able to auouch, that any of them  
in particular, had thus spoken, thus conspired, thus  
done against her M.<sup>y</sup> But the Q. Couſel at the lavv,  
could by a consequence make whatsoeuer was said  
to be entended or done at Rome or Rhemes, to be  
euery of their deeds there at the barre. That day it  
was good logicke, You kissed the Popes fote, You  
were students of that Colledge where such talke  
was, You spake with D. *Allen*, You haue redd D.  
*Bristowes* booke, You were at Prage, and came by  
Rome and Remes into England, *ergo* vpon euery  
of these you are euery one, and al, guiltie of the  
matter of the enditement.

An other de-  
monstration  
of their IN-  
NOCENCIE.

They racke  
Catholikes  
for triffling  
causes, vn-  
vouitedly.

O heauen, o earth, o Lord God, that such ini-  
quitie should be done in that place, so once reno-  
med for iustice in al Europe. but to passe this point.  
This also is a demonstration of their innocencie,  
that at their first apprehension, imprisoning and  
racking, they were onely examined of matters in-  
cident to religion: whom they had reconciled,  
where they said Masse, who harboured & relieued  
them, what they heard in confession (a barbarouse  
impietie) and such like, for we may not thinke that  
they vse torments, only for disclosing of great trea-  
sons or other crimes, as they had wont to do, and  
that not without great occasion: but tovwards Ca-  
tholikes and specially Gods annointed Priests, they  
sticke not nowv without pitie to vse al kind of tor-  
ture, often, rather for a punishment of them, or to  
make them by paines to forsake their faith, or of  
malice and despite of the Catholike faith, then for  
any

any matter they looke to be opened by them.

19.

So they laid *M. Tomson* a learned & graue Priest vpon the racke before they euer examined him: a thing most cruel and disorderly, hauing nothing to charge him withal, but onely to what end he kept certaine *superaltares* which were found in his chamber. As for religion onely, hauing no other pretence in the world, they thrust him as is said v weekes together (after the Lieutenant had spoiled him of v poundes) and *Thomas Burschoaghe* a Catho- like yong man and learned, a quarter of a yere to- gether into a grisely dongeon called *Vrbalesboure*, without candel light and water, til by the priue there, they were vvel neere pestred to death.

*36. T. ...  
bacheler of  
Diuinitie.*

*Thomas  
Burschoagh.*

So did they afflict *Iohn Hemslorv*, onely for burying his Catholike mother in the Church yard, being cast out of their heretical synagogue for her faith, thrusting him into a filthie vile hole (after they had discharged him of his money, for that is *medius terminus* euer) al a lent long, vwithout light, fire, or place to ease nature in, til by his ovvne ex- crements discharged into a dongeon vnder him, he had like to haue been stifled vvith stinch. And vvwhich is vvorth the marking, or rather lamenting of al Christian harts, that for our more affliction, they prophanely make choise to giue the torture to our brethren, vpon fundaises and hie holydaies in Gods Church, after the old maner of the hea- theu persecutors, rather then vpon vvorken daies. And to feede them selues vvith our calamities, and estsons to terrifie other confessors the rather to enforce them from their faith, they bring some newv racked vnder their fellowv prisoners vvindovves and to their dores, that by hering their pitiful sighes, grones and complaints, proceeding of infinite paines, they may be moued to relent in religion, yea vvwhich is more inhumanitie they set

*Iohn Hem-  
slorv.*

*They racke  
Priests on  
fundaies &  
holydaies  
specially.*

*By vvhat  
cruelmeanes  
they terrifie  
the Catho-  
like priso-  
ners.*

some of the confessors, in bye dark corners, vvhhen other their brethren are in tormenting.

A puritans  
spirie.

And no lesse torment both of body and minde is it, to be haled and forced against their vvilles, to their heretical church and sermons, vvhere they must heare blasphemie and vvickednes, and if they say nothing: be rated of the Puritans and called dombe dogges, if they reprove their Ministers: they be offered violence and strokes. As namely once a spiteful puritane laying his hand vpon his dagger, his teeth grinning in his head, his face enflammed vvith malice, came to one of the reuerend Priests and said thus: Before God if it vv ere not for feare of lawes, I vvould presently stabbe my dagger to thy hart (smale euidence vvould serue a leurie of such fellowes to cast away a thousand honest men) and many dozens of these you may haue good cheape in England, and this is our miserie novv, that vve haue not onely the coulour of law against vs: but al the vvicked of the realme our ennemies.

M. Hart mi-  
serably han-  
deled for his  
conscience.

And al these pitiful vexations, are they done vnto them for any thing but religion? vvhen after *M. Harris*, that learned reuerent Bachiler of Diuinities condemnation, yet they vvould not let him rest, but caused him to be conferred vvith al by *Rainolds* and others, and vvhen he would not yeld, miserably afflicted him by dongeon, famine and other miseries. Had they any cause then but religion? or vv as it euer heard of in our realme, that one alreddy hauing his iudgement should be aftervvards so manifoldly tormented?

M. Lieute-  
nants cour-  
tesie.

For vvhat crime vv as it that the *Lieutenant* made a motion to *D. Hammon* his fellowv commissioner, that the Priests last comitted to the Towver might be sent to *Bride-vvel* to be vvhipt? ô prophane irreligious and malicious Athiest. That vv as a trike of *Nortons* spirit vvho could find in his hart to haue

Norton his  
counsel.

sent

sent the honorable confessor *M. Pervint* to *Bedlem* to be treated like a mad man, and had brought the *Lieutenant* to promise it, befor a hal al most ful at his ovvne hovvse, but as Gods providence hath directed matters sithence, that dict is more fit for *Nortons* wife.

They say the Epistle of persecution hath rhetorically amplified the Catholikes calamities in England: but our Lord *I s v s* vvho onely seeth through our miseries knowveth, it hath not vttered the least parte of our daily distresses. And how great or greuous so euer they be, for religiō onely, & for no other treasons they are: no other causes at the first pretended, nor after, any thing generally pursued, but how to make them relēt in faith, releasing euery body vvhat treason soeuer pretended, if they would condescend vnto them in matter of religion. Yea such as so did, though they were these mens companions at Rome, when and where these conspiracies were pretended to be wrought, and some of them sent dovvn in their company and for the same ende, yet vv ere they neuer questioned vvithal of any such matter, if they once vvould take the othe of the *Q.* supremacie ouer the church of England: as *Paschal*, *Nicolls*, *Osborne*, *Caddey*, and such like, as either of feare, or for preferment then or aftervvard yielded.

Vvho should neuer haue eskaped so, if they had been acquainted with such horrible treason: the mistrust or pretence vvhereof vv as not as then skarcely formed in the Counsels intention, nor resolved vpon vntil a good vv hile after they had apprehended, examined and racked *F. Campion*: vvhom they vv ere exceding desirous to put away by some coulorable meanes, thereby to extinguish this spiritual practise in cases of religion in our countrey. Diuers had been racked before that, and nothing found or much mistrusted con-

So doth *D. Humphrey* in his vnlearned pamphlet against the *Iesuits*.

The great desire they had to make a vvay *F. Campio*, vv as the cause of al this actiō.

*D. Hammons  
speech at M.  
Brians tor-  
menting.*

*M. Harts an-  
swere to  
Norton,*

*Norton con-  
felleth their  
INNOCEN-  
CIE.*

*Their first  
pretence of  
treason.*

*The authors  
of Nicols  
bookes.*

cerning this pretended conspiracie : but to see their constancie in religion, and patience in their extremest torments, that appalled the commissioners exceedingly : in so much that *D. Hammon* vpon the racking of *M. Brian*, vttered in great terror of his conscience, *That if one were not very wel grounded in his faith, this geare might shake him.* And when *M. Hart* was taken from the rack, the commissioners talking vvith him after a familiar maner: *Norton* asked him, saying, *Tel truely Hart what is the meaning of the comming in, of so many Priests into England? vyho answered, To conuert the land againe to her first Christian faith and religiō, by preaching and peaceable perswasion, after the maner that it was first planted :* to vvich *Norton* said: *In my conscience Hart, I thinke thou saiest truth.*

This went things then, til the superior powvers wer resolved for causes before said, to seeke out some treason, whereof by any coulour or seemely sequel in the world they might be endited.

First tampering about a collection that should be fained to be made by these Priests meanes of the Catholikes in Englād for relief of the Irish: which not holding weight, they then rested rather vpon the poursuit of this pretended conspiracie of the *Q.* death, through the readines of i) or ii) false godles cōpanions, men of sinne, prompt to affirme and svveare, whatsoeuer should be agreeable to the practise, and vpon a certaine ouerture giuen before by *Nicols* in his booke and sermon of recantation, which the mad sellovv made not him self, but were penned by one *vvilkinson* (if I hit his name right) as others of his, by other of the Ministrie.

Vvhich *Nicols* because he might be better beleeued & seeme to do al of conscience, fained him self by the *Lieutenants* counsel (who for that purpose brought certaine Ministers to him) to be conuerted by cōference with godly preachers. Vvhere he

*Nicols intention.*

*Cooper.*

*Vvhy Nicols gaue not euidence.*

he had confessed to a secret frend, that coming  
 from Rome he meant euer to runne that race of  
 Apostacie, & offered the Lieutenant the first night  
 he came to the Towver, to goe to any port of the  
 realme to discouer the Priests as they should come  
 on land, giuing him vp withal, the names of al the  
 students in Rome: so that you see al is a sett song.  
 Yet for the honor of the Ministrie they giue out  
 in print of him and others (relenting this yere of  
 plaine practise, feare or compulsion, and through  
 both great threats & promises) that the godly lear-  
 ned preachers haue conuerted them: as they did by  
 two husbandmen taken with *F. Campion*, who by  
 threats of racke and death, were brought to relent  
 or euer preacher dealt with them, and so to do, on  
 named *Cooper* also, being alwaies nedy and therefore  
 subiect to money, had twentie pounds offered him  
 by the Lieutenant. No, No, thanks be to God,  
 Ministers haue no great grace nor povver these  
 yerres, to peruert any man.

But to the purpose againe and to *Nicols*, who in  
 truth in his bookes and sermons printed and dedi-  
 cated to the Q. and other her M. Ministers, vttered  
 and inuented the very self same false matter of the  
 enditement, whereof the other his cōpanions gaue  
 euidence and testimonie, yet himself left (for some  
 causes the Counsel knevv) he should haue marred  
 al, and haue discovered by the mutabilitie they saw  
 in him, the whole practize, was not produced at  
 the arraignment: & perchaunce the miserable man  
 had yet some remorse to be an instrument in the  
 casting avway of so many, whom by experience he  
 knevv to be innocent, and of excellent qualities.  
 Sure it is, that whether as *Iudas* came backe to the  
*Ievvas* after he had betraied to them his Lord, or  
 with better repentance and conscience, this fellow  
 came of his ovyne accord to *M. Kirbie* the holy  
 confessor, to aske him and al his fellovves forgi-  
 uenes,

*Eliot's re-  
port of his  
companions  
Sledd and  
Munday.*

uenes, for the great treachery done toward them, protesting that al was false and wicked that had been done or spoken against them touching these supposed treasons, and that he would goe to the secretarie and signifie so much, affirming *Sledd* and *Munday* their accusers, to be the falsests and vilests caitiues that euer liued, their wicked and deuillish liues and practises being wel knowven vnto him. whereof see *M. Kirbie's* letter after the narration of his Martyrdom.

*Eliot's speech  
to F. Cam-  
pion.*

*F. Campions  
answere.*

*Eliot* also that other wretched man, did neuer thinke at the beginning as him self professed, that they would pick matter of death or quarrel of treason towards *F. Campion*. for he thus spake after-ward to him. Sir saith he, I would not for any good haue done so much, if I had thought any further harme or trouble then imprisonment, should haue happened vnto you thereby. Then repent the *Eliot* for Gods sake said *F. Campion*, and al wil be to his glorie. Then *Eliot* said, he was in great feare and daunger to be killed of the Catholikes for his apprehension: you are deceived said *F. Campion*; Catholikes cary no such mind, and yet for your more securitie, if you like thereof, I wil send you to a Duke in Germany where you shalbe safe. Thus al things euen their very accusers and persecutors profession, proue them to haue been vniustly condemned.

But aboue al, their ovne profession of innocencie at their deathes, put al men of any reason religion or indifferencie, out of doubt thereof: and therein certainly we dare and do appeale to the enemies ovne consciences, howsoever for the honor of iustice and needful pollicie they pretend the contrary.

Commonly men trust euery malefactors asseueration at the time of his departure hence, touching his ovne or his associats culpablenes or innocencie

25  
cie of the fact for which he or they were condemned, though by the attestation of the truthes, they haue no worldly comodity or release of the paines they haue to suffer. How much lesse may any man mistrust these men ypon their soule and saluation denying the fact: who might haue had no lesse reuward for acknowledging the pretended crime, then grace & life, offered to the diuers times before they came to executiō, and most earnestly tendered and perswaded to them, yea almost thrust vpon them at the hōvre of their extreme agonie, yea with great promises of preferment. Can any man thinke that these men would lye to their damnation, at the very going out of their breath into the iudgement of God: whose conscience was so religious, that for al the preferment profered, and life graunted would not do or say one vvord against the profession of their faith, or that which in conscience they thought not layvful to do?

A cleere argument of their INNOCENCE.

How greatly the confession of the supposed fact vvas desired of the counsell, and to every one of them vrged, and vvith vvhat singular arte they vsed the last of al that vvas executed, to haue him say some vvordes of disagremēt from his fellowes dead befor him, that therevpon they might haue caried him backe and made the people belecue that he had confessed the fact and therefore pardoned, therevpon to haue disproued al the rest, it is a vvorld to see.

Oh *M. Cottam* saith *Sherife Martine*, you I perceiue came into the realme not as the others did, sent to moue sedition, but for your health onely: and in hope of this conueiance, toke him out of the carte againe, saying to him, you vv ere happie that you medled not in these other perilous matters, that the rest are executed for, telling him that the *Q.* vvould extend her mercie to him: for which he hartely thanked her *M.* thinking in deed by these

A shamful practizethy vled, to entangle *M. Cottam*.

IN BRILLIANT  
 THE JUSTICE  
 OF THE  
 CHURCH

these vvordes, and by his loosing from the gal-  
 lowes and taking dovvne out of the cart, they  
 vvould vvithout any more a do, haue caried him  
 backe againe. At leingth they said it vvvas requisite  
 he should stand vp and speake a fevv vvordes to  
 the people to signifie that he vvvas sent for no such  
 il purpose, and that he misliked much the P O R T S  
 doings in those matters.

But God gaue him grace to see their legier-  
 demaine, and to stand vpon the truth and inno-  
 cencie, and so he was executed vvith more despite  
 then the rest. when I vvrote his Martyrdom, being  
 not so nere as to heare this communication they  
 had vvith him after he was letten dovvne out of  
 the carter. I could not reporte it, but sithence one  
 that did here it could me.

An inuinci-  
 ble argumēt  
 of their IN-  
 NOCENCIE.

Inuincible  
 Argument  
 of their  
 Innocencie

Now as vve see the aduersaries would haue  
 made much aduantage of any ons acknowvvdging  
 of him self guiltie, though al the world had seen, it  
 had been done for hope of life: so by the constant  
 denial of so many, so godly, so learned and wel  
 quallified persons euen to the losse of their liues  
 here, and pledge of their eternal saluation in the  
 world to come. It giueth vs an inuincible prooffe  
 of their innocencie, & an eternal reproch to al the  
 ennemies of Gods Church and Priesthod. Truely  
 said the last of the Martyrs, That among so many  
 (if any thing had been committed as is pretended)  
 no one should neither for gaine of his life, nor for  
 saluation of his soule, confesse it: vve vvvere the  
 strangest men that euer liued.

But not novv onely, vvhen al and euery on se-  
 uerally had taken it vpon their death, but vpon the  
 like professiō of the first three, al the realme almost,  
 and much more al foraine Nations generally, pitied  
 the case, & vvhere wel assured of their innocencie:  
 wherevpon partely for complaint of the iniurie,  
 partely for the excellencie of the persons to whom

was done, and specially for the honor of God  
and glorie of their notable Martyrdom: diuers  
bookes, verses, pictures and such like, came furth in  
diuers langages. whereat the Magistrat, that would  
gladly haue had the foulnes of their fact buried  
with the me, were much encōbered, & seeking by  
al humane prudence how to stop the further sprea-  
ding of the matter, they resolued by force and au-  
thoritie to defend and auouch the iniustice done  
vpon them, and to punish with al extreme rigor,  
whosoever should speake, print or publish the  
contrary.

Vvherevpon, some that had vvritten of *F. Cam-  
pion* and his, fled the Vniuersities and realme: some,  
lost both their eares, as on *Vallenger*, and others  
othervvise punished, so odible was this truth: and  
yet I am sure if al the eares in our countrey and al  
nations, that glovv at the hearing of this fact, were  
cut of, half the Christians in England and Europe  
should be cropt.

But the better to put al to silence and out of  
doubt, they caused a proclamation to be made vn-  
der her M. name and authoritie, bering date the first  
of April, and xxiiij of her highnes raigne: whereby  
they assure al subiects vpo her M. and the Counsels  
word and knowvledge, and so command al men  
so to take it, that the three first, and then already  
executed, vv ere lavv fully endited, arraigned and  
conuicted, as the rest likewise, not then put to  
death, were, vv hich strange course caused men to  
suspect far more then, al vv ent not vv el, that vv as  
to be salued so extraordinarily: euery body of iud-  
gement knowing right vv el that her M. and Coun-  
sel could know no more by them, then was openly  
at the barre giuen in euidence, and dilated against  
them on her M. parte: for there was no store made  
that day, of any thing that might either directly or  
indirectly touch them.

Rigor vsed  
to al defen-  
ders of their  
INNOCEN-  
CIE.  
*Vallenger* lost  
his eares.

A proclama-  
tion.

An extraor-  
dinary salue.

Al

Al vvhich being fully refelled both there in the sight of al men, and by their profession at the hovvre of death, though we yeld to authoritie al deutie and allegiance, yet vve can not, nor may not, because it toucheth Gods honor & the glorie of his Saints, in conscience acknowvledge their guilt in any of the crimes: nor othervvise, but that they died for defense of the CATHOLIKE FAITH, vvithout al cogitation of treason against their Prince or countrey.

And the rather vve can not against our ovvne certaine knowvledge be ledde so to thinke in this case, for that in pledable cases of treason, her M. is a partie, and can not by her proclamation or Princely prerogative othervvise giue attestation, then as by processe of lavv irreprovable is adiudged. and because vve are assured before God that her highnes Ministers be by our enemies wrongenformed, as in al others, so in some things vttered against our brethren euen in that same proclamation. As vvhen they affirme that the like attempts of the Iesuits and Seminarie Priests vv ere turned into actual rebellion in Irland, vvhere as true as God liueth, there vv as no one Iesuit nor any that euer had been of either of the Seminaries of that action in Irland.

Neither Iesuit, nor Seminarie Priest in the commotion in Irland.

Making al Priests and Iesuits traitors no lesse then these, proueth these as guiltles as the others

Children vnborn made traitors by entering after into the colledges.

But herein vve may be the shorter for that by the same proclamation euery man of intelligence may vnderstand, that there vv ere no particular attempts made by these blessed Fathers condemned and executed, nor no other special causes, nor personal crimes vvhy they should be condemned and counted traitors, then are common to al other Iesuits and Priests of the colledges beyond the Seas at this present, though diuers be but children: or to such as shal here after enter into any of the said companies, though they be yet vnborne. The vvhole order and bothe the bodies, and euery particular

A marue-  
lous absur-  
ditie.

cular person thereof, how innocent so ever they  
be in them selues ( a maruelous inconueniencie and  
absurdity ) vvithout any lawv of the realme therin  
passed, are made high traitors. So it is you see for  
original sinne, that *F. Campion* and his fellowves  
were executed, and not for any of their actual and  
propre demerits. And if this be good lawv, it vvill  
make easier euidence, then to stand vpon euery ons  
particular arraignment and trial.

But these things passing thus, namely against  
the persons partely dead, and partely condemned,  
but yet aliue & at the *Q. mercie*: & generally against  
of the Catholike societies beyond the seas, the  
greater opinion of the mens excellencie and inno-  
cencie daily ariseth. And the povvers of the realme  
doe stil in great perplexitie vvwhether it vvere  
good to execute the rest that vvere condemned or  
no, them selues being not cruel, and her *M.* euer  
much enclined to mercy: loth they vvere to put  
them al to death knowving their innocencie in the  
matters pretended better then any man els did, and  
feeling the affection of the subiects of al sorts, and  
the great mutation of mindes that the constant  
death of so many qualified men were like to make:  
yet more loth to seeme by pardoning of them  
without any iote relenting, either touching their  
guilt or their supposed fact, as it vvere to confesse  
their vvrongful condemnation, and their ovvne  
former error, or to be ledd out of their intended  
course, by the out cries of the world, or complaints  
of Catholikes.

The *Q. mer-*  
ciful.

Reasons,  
vvhy they  
follow this  
course.

Therefore euen straight after the execution of  
the first, they sent certaine vnto the condemned  
persons, to moue them to aske the *Q. Mercie* and  
pardiennes, and to acknowvledge onely in general  
that they had offended her highnes: or at least to  
sent any litle in religion, and they should liue.  
And that they might do, it vvith better pretence,  
they

Acknowvled  
ging any of-  
fence, or re-  
lenting in  
religiomight  
haue saued  
their liues.

As *M. Hart*  
was.

they brought preachers to conferre vvith some of them, and vvhen that vvould not serue, as is noted before, thrust them into dongeons: but vvhen after vj monethes they saw nothing could be obtained of those innocent constant confessors: they resolved plainly to execut them.

*M. Paines*  
sending a-  
vvay bread  
new con-  
cepts.

But least the last error should be worse then the first, and especially for that there were not long before raised new brutes and muttering of vneauen dealing in the sending avway of *M. Paine* so fare of to be arraigned and executed: from vvwhose mouth as they pretended before, the rest vvwere specially accused and condemned. They sought their vvittes (vvhich are in truth by long exercise and experience very pregnant of subtile inuention) how to make them avway vvith lesse offence to the vvorld: to enduce her *M.* also to be vvilling they should be put to death, vvwhich by a certaine pitie and natural clemencie, she is often hardly dravven vnto: they deuised avway how to make them to seeme as vvell to her *M.* as to the people vvorthie death, and in apparance plaine traitors, though they vvwere not guiltie at al of the crimes, for vvwhich they vvwere endited, arraigned and condemned.

A sinful  
politic.

Vvwhich vngodly practise of executing them in the peoples fight for causes, vvhereof they vvwere neuer directly endited & arraigned, and vvwhich indeed is by law no treason at al: do proue againe most euidently that of the former offences vvwhereof they vvwere accused and condemned, they vvwere not at al guiltie.

Their deuise vvvas to send vnto the iiii lawiers, ij. of the common law, vvwho vvwere the *Q. Attur-*  
*ney* and *Soliciter*: and two ciuilians *D. Leyves* and *D. Hammon*; To dravve out of them by vj articles or interrogatories, not vvwhat treasons or trespasses they had committed (vvwhich vvvas none) but vvhat they

they had in their cogitations, what were to be done, what they would doe, if such a thing or such a thing should fall: & what if they had been in Irland when the rebellion was there, what would they haue done?

31  
By Ifs, and Ands, they would drine these poore men into the compasse of treason.

Whether there be any meanes to depose her M. or any other king? for with these men it was not inough to answer, they all acknowledged her for their lawfull soueraine, & that they neuer committed any thing in word nor deede against her M: but they would know of them for the future time, and for their very cogitations, hart and affection, what they thought to be done, and what they meant to do for any cause hereafter: that is, for any *Heresie*, *Arianisme*, or the like, or for *Apostacie*, *Turcisme* or *Atheisme* (from al which inconvenience **CHRIST IESVS** descend her M. and the realme alwaies) whether yet, if for any such crimes that the frailtie of Princes is subiect vnto, she should be deposed: what then would they counsel the people to do, or whether may she for any such matters be depriued.

Strange interrogatories.

To which things being proposed vnto them by the said iiii. lawviers the xiiij. of May, 1582. in form of vi. articles or demaunds, they answered in the feare of God and simplicitie of hart, as you see set downe hereafter seuerally, together with the articles them selues, euen as they were published by authoritie. which answers, though conceiued of her M. and some other her Ministers, as though they were tokens of their ill affection towards her, that thought any cause might euer happen for which she might worthely be depriued, and in some part, seeming at the first sight to the simple to be odious and vndeutiful, though in deede by no law nor reason they can be dravven to any treason, and therefore not much vrged in their arraignements, though some of them had

Ans. 17. 18.  
vnd. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

A strange  
prize.

The second  
arraignment  
and condem-  
nation euen  
at the gal-  
lowes.

Antony Munday  
brought  
to the gal-  
lowes.

geuen the same answers to the like demandes be-  
fore, as they haue set downe also in the same li-  
bel.

Yet they thought good to publish them, and  
to make the more odible to the shew, they ioyned  
to them certaine passages of *D. Saunders* and *D. Bri-  
stowes* writings, and a preface to all that, of their  
owne making: which should thus not onely  
passe abroad amongst the subjects for a warning,  
but specially was to be redd and spread as an other  
litle liueret was at the death of the former, but this  
now with more authoritie, at the place and time  
of execution.

Vwhere there was appointed (the strangest  
thing that euer we haue seen, redd, or heard of)  
as it were a new arraignment, whereat not now  
xij. men representing the countrey, but the whole  
people should be iudge: therefore at the daies of  
their death every one there as he was put into the  
cart, was willed to confesse the treason, which  
being denied of them, every one vpon their salua-  
tion and death: then *Antony Munday* one of the  
former false accusers, was brought furth before al  
the presence, called for by the Sherife, who was  
redy to anouch whatsoever you would to their  
faces: though of the seven executed those two  
daies, he neuer I thinke saw none beyond the seas,  
where the treason was fained to be contriued,  
saueing only *M. Kirbie*, of whom in particular he  
could say nothing neither.

Yet it serued them for a pretie coulour, to say  
in the hearing of the multitude, *Loe here is one of  
your companions, the Popes owne scholler to aduoyce it to  
your face.* But when they found the foole in deede  
could say nothing, then they went to the new  
evidence and new crime, set forth in the booke of  
their answers, a Minister euer willed to read that  
answere, that the party there to be executed had  
made

made and subscribed, which if it sounded sometimes litle or nothing to the purpose, then the Minister was willed to turne the leaffe and read the preface of the booke (a shifte that passed both al vvit and folly) that thereby, or by the allegatiōs of *D. Saunders* and *D. Bristovv* at least, these poore men might seeme to the vnaduised multitude, though not guiltie of their former pretended crime: yet of il affection towards her M. vvhich was inough in their iudgement to make them avvay.

A prettie sport.

And a fevve of the people set on by the Ministers that vse to follovv the gallovvves, gaue verdit and aime to the rest that stood farther of, to cry avvay with them, avvay with them. Though thousands went home after the sight of so notorious a spectacle, as the constancie of the Martyrs yelded that time, sighing, weeping and lamenting the case.

Novv in al this maruelous proceeding, we will not stand to examine what the aduersarie haue gained for their purpose, being inough for our satisfaction, that God knowveth and novv al England and a great part of Europe seeth, the innocencie of these saints, that our lord is glorified by their deaths, and his Church enriched with nev v Martyres of most excellent vertue and constancie.

The aduersaries haue gained nothing. The Cath. church hath gained much

Neither becommeth it vs to fal in consideration of the pollicie vsed in renevving againe the old sore of the excommunication, vvhich hath laien deade, and so might for vs Catholikes have been deade with *Pius quintus* the author and publisher thereof for euer: if them selues by vnvvonted dristes had not sought to cal the case in question, and by vndeuvve waies gone about to make vs guiltie or odible by that, wherevvith we were neuer acquainted.

Them selues haue renued the question of the Q. excommunication.

Vwherevpon if further occasion be geuen to the lerned of our side to declare the truth of Gods

Smale vvif-  
dom in set-  
ting out, D.  
Saunders and  
D. Bristowes  
opinions in  
this matter.

Church, and the opinion of the vniuersities and lerned, of asvvell Protestants, as Catholiques in an other special worke already in hand, concerning those vj. articles and questions by them importunly moued: they haue no reason to be offended with vs, that stand onely at our defence and purgatio in the same: wherein notwithstanding we wil not descend so far as they haue prouoked vs, to dispute particularly of her Maiesties interest, for the duetie we owe to our Prince and soueraigne: nor stand vpon D. Saunders and D. Bristowes wordes, which we and al wise men maruel they would discouer to the people, considering their names in scholes are so famous, and so much diuulgated among men of our nation, that it can not in deliberation but make scruple of matter in some mens heads.

Vve say nothing of their open declaration of their diffidēce tovvards al Catholikes, impeaching them in maner generally of their fidelitie & good affection tovvards their prince and countrey, which geueth great occasion both at home and abroad, of much discontentement and desperation. Some not wel scholed with patience, thinking it al on to be a traitor, and to be reputed for such a one, and for men abandoned out of her M. sauour and protection: of vvhom the latine prouerbe may perhaps be found trevv, *Quod patientia laesa saepe vertitur in furorem.*

The questio  
of vvhat  
Queene ? is  
but madly  
asked.

Neither neede I speake of these strange words of demaund, first vsed by one of great authoritie to F. Campion in his first examinatio, and aftervvard commonly taken vp, to aske Catholikes (whom they see in al duetie & humilitie to speake wel, to wish wel, and daily pray for the Q. M.) to aske I say, *Vvhich Queene* and *Vvhat Queene* they meane by.

To what aduantage of the state these and such like

like things be done and spoken against vs, vve wil not take vpon vs to discusse, but referre al to men wise and indifferent: onely of the propounding those vj. articles to our brethren, and measuring their loiaultie or fidelitie by their ansvvers, there vnto we must needes in al humble sort complaine, and make brief remonstrance of the iniurie, and their innocencie therein also. In the other treatise of these vj. demaundes more largely.

Of the vj. articles propo-  
sed to these  
Martyrs.

For the present it is inough, that al the world see our extreme calamitie, that are punished euen by most cruel and ignominious death, not onely for our pretended deedes, wordes or any exterior actes, which onely are punishable by mans lawes, but for our very cogitations gathered by false suppositions and vnderve meanes: yea and for the future faults which we may commit in time to come, which far passeth al *Antichristian* tyranny.

Thoughts  
punished by  
death.

God him self that doth aboue mans lawv punish the trespasses euen of our hart, which are as open and subiect to his sight and iudgement as external actes be to men: yet chargeth no man nor searcheth any man for the time to come, nor for finnes that he would haue committed, or might, or were like to haue committed if he had liued, or had had such occasions, prouocatiōs or tentations as other men, or he might haue had.

God onely,  
punisheth  
mens cogi-  
tations.

He puni-  
sheth not  
future cri-  
mes, as our  
men do.

But novv confessing the Prince to be our liege and soueraine, doing al duties of subiection to her that the lawes of God, nature, or the Realme & al nations require, onely not making her our God, yet vve must be farther demaunded by authoritie, othe or torment, vvhath vve wil do in such & such cases to come, or perchaunce neuer to come. And therevpon if vve ansvver that for the cases contingent and to come, vve can say nothing, but vvil be subiect to the lawes or punishment of the lawes if at that time vve shal offend, or as some answered

Vnreasona-  
ble search of  
mens con-  
sciences.

The best answer to captious questions.

Men are executed in England for only pretended il affection without any act committed.

An other argument of their innocencie.

An example.

more generally, that they then would do, teach & belceue, as the Catholike Church should resolve vpon such controuersies betwixt the Prince and P O P E or any other, then they are condemned of a fault or crime of their hart and cogitation, which they cal in the preface to the libel set furth against the vij last Martyres, il affection or il disposition to the Queene: so that they which offered to procure their pardon for the fained fact, for vvhich they were condemned, yet vvil needes haue them suffer for their il affection.

But that is a cleere demonstration of their innocencie touching the haynous pretended conspiracie, vvich being punishable by al lawes & reason, and vvithout any mans offence or scandal, yet vv as made more pardonable then this supposed il affection and disposition, vvich is not, nor can not be punishable by any lawes of the Realme.

And this onely search of mens future facts or intentions vvhereof him self hath neither knowvledge nor rule before hand, is vnnaturale, intolterable, and to common vv ealthes exceding petilous. To examine the wife or children or vassals and tenants before hand, vvhat they vvould do if her husband, their father, lord and Maister, should rebel against the Q. whether they vvould take their parts or wish vv el to them, or relieue them vnderhand, it vv ere pernicious, and vv nvsual proceeding.

But in our matter a thousand times more vv nreasonable, to examine whether any case may possibly fal vv herein the subiect may refuse to obey the Prince, vvhere neither the indirect answer, nor suspence of iudgement, no, nor the plaine direct resolution any vvay, is either against the lawes of the Realme, or proueth any il affection tovvards Prince in the vvorld.

If the Catholikes had been demaunded in Q.

Maries

37  
Maries daies, whether if she should fall to heresie or  
*apostasie* or *infidelitie*, or generally for any enormi-  
ties or vvhhat cause soeuer, she might haue been  
either by the Realme depriued, or by the P O P E  
excommunicated and deposed, and had answered  
as these Priests did here, had they hated the Q. for  
that, or borne il affection to her? you say vve loue  
the P O P E and honor him, and you say truely, for  
so vve are bound to do by Gods law, yet if this de-  
maund were made, whether if the P O P E, or this  
same P O P E *Gregorie the xij*, to vvhom vve stand in  
as deu obedience for matters of soule & religion,  
as to this *Queene Elizabeth* for our ciuil and tempo-  
ral state, whether I say, if he fell to heresie he might  
be deposed by the Church or general Counsel, a  
thousand diuines vwould answer affirmatiuely:  
yet neither the P O P E him self, nor no vvise man  
vwould compt them to be of il affection or dispo-  
sition towards him, though perchance if he vv ere  
guiltie in conscience of some such crime, such a re-  
solution vwould perhaps pricke him shrevv dely.

Nay if the law might proceed vpon such sup-  
posals and intentions of thinges to come, vvhath  
harts should you find in the *Puritans* thinke you,  
vpon this onely supposition, if the *Queene* should  
but goe backe to be a Papist: if they vv ere vpon  
their othe demaunded vvhath they vwould doe, or  
vvish in their harts to be done; if it should so hap-  
pen, if their consciences vv ere so good as to open  
their cogitatiōs, other manner of sinister affections  
and dispositions you should find, then in the Ca-  
tholikes. They that could not but vtter in most  
traiterous wordes and bookes their cankered sto-  
makes onely for a litle conference that her M. had  
of mariage vvith a Catholike Prince, vvhath affe-  
ction vwould they beare to her if she reduced her  
self and realme to the CATHOLIKE FAITH  
which they so much hate. And yet these Puritans

The P O P E

The Puritans  
hardly oppo-  
sed.

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Vpon Iſa. an  
Ands vve are  
examined.

are they that are put to ſound our harts in this kind  
and to afflict vs vpon euery vaine Iſ, or impertinēt  
ſuppoſal that they can deuife.

So vvas M.  
Nelson.

Do they not by othes, interrogatories, and other  
indeyve meanes, purpoſly driue ſimple plaine mea-  
ning men, that neuer offended their lawes in word,  
deed, nor thought, into the cōpaſſe of their treaſons?  
Some that for reuerēce of her M. high dignitie ouer  
vs, though they knew ſhe erred in religion, yet  
would neuer haue called her *Heretike*, *Schiſmatike*,  
or ſuch like: haue been notwithstanding ſo entan-  
geled by their captious queſtioning and driftes,  
brought by ſequels of vvords to acknowvledge her  
in their opinion, ſo to be, and therevpon puniſhed  
by death, as if they had ſo called her of malice, or by  
voluntary railing or opprobrious ſpeech. This is to  
make traitors and not to puniſh treaſons.

So vvas M.  
Haunſe.

So ſuch quiet godly perſons that vvould neuer  
haue talked nor thought of the *Bul* of *Pius quintus*,  
nor haue dealt in the differences betvvixt their  
two ſuperiors, vvere driuen by courſe of wordes  
to confeſſe that, of her deprivation, which els they  
had neuer conſidered of, & for the ſame do execute  
them. Vvhich is not to execute lawes, but to make  
men offend the lawes. So to drinke their blode.

A marvelous  
ouerſight.

They vvere evil adviſed euen to the admiration  
of men of diſcretion, that they would make any  
ſtatute about calling the Q. an *Heretike*, *Infidel*, or  
ſuch like: much more thoſe that vvould examine  
men vvhat they thought therein, Catholikes neuer  
vſing no more before the law then after, any ſuch  
terme tovvards her M. whereas this particular re-  
cord of it in ſtatute, breadeth ſome hard conceits  
in the ſubiects heades, and to the poſteritie, a plaine  
record and ſuſpition of ſuch a thing: as I could tel  
them by examples familiarly, but for the reſpect of  
the honor of thoſe vvhom I vvill not touch.

But to ſee the determination of ſuch things and  
our general affliction, to depend vpon a few ſan-

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tistical nouellers, or as they cal them parliament  
men, full of tongue and wit; but without al iudg-  
ment and vvisedom; this is our great torment, and  
vvil as vve feare be the realmes destruction; except  
God of his grace auert it. From on parliament to  
an other, such fellowes haue nothing to doe, but to  
inuent how they may by new statutes encrease  
our miseries.

Parliament  
men.

They say her M. person can not by former lawes  
be sufficiently provided for and preserved, they  
adde new, and the next new againe: one yere a  
hundreth Markes for a Masse, an other must double  
it: once xij pence for not going to the Church,  
now xx poundes a moneth. And now Norton is  
busie to inuent how to clogge vs, or rather bereiue  
vs of our life, liberties and goods, in the next par-  
liament. He hath vwritten to one of authoritie,  
that he vvas sory he put not vp in the last Session  
of Parliament, that the Q. vvas, and ought to be  
lawful Queene vwhatsoever she can commit, or  
the P O P E or realme can do or hereafter may do  
against her.

Norton is  
stil busely  
occupied.

Againe that it should be treason not to answer  
directly, what a man thought in his hart, to any  
suppositiō by othe or interrogatorie made or pro-  
poned. Vvhich law I dare say Antichrist himself  
vvould not make, because he vvil not, nor can not,  
enter into mens thoughts.

This fellow once in examination of a Catho-  
like prisoner, tendered him an othe to sweare to  
al that he vvas to demaund of him, who refusing,  
he said in great rage: If thou vvert a good subiect  
thou vvouldest not sticke to take any othe to do  
thy Prince good, a notable point of *Atheisme* and  
*Puritanisme*.

A notable  
point of  
*Atheisme*.

Thus they rack not our bodies only, but our  
very consciences, ministring othes for euery trifle, &  
yet they beleeue our othes no farther then is for  
their othes to Ca-  
tholikes and  
yet beleeue  
them not.

their seruice and our affliction. for I haue heard Norton him self say, that swere they neuer so fast, he vvill not trust them, except they goe to the Church: meaning their schismatical seruice.

This same man not discovered onely of il affection, but iustly put into the Towver for seditious wordes & plaine treason (so much as would haue hāged an hundereth Catholikes & honest men) yet much complained that he vvas so vnkindely dealt withal, that a fewve rashe wordes which of many wise men were not misliked of, as he saith, could not beforgiuen, but with such difficultie. Specially to him that was so necessarie for their seruice, that neither the citie of Lōdon, to which he was a feed man: nor the parliament, wherein he did many good offices alwayes: nor the Prince in her commissions for religion, wherein he was much employed, could spare him.

And M. Nortons wife, if she wil be as plaine to the Counsel, as she is to some of her neighbours, can tel (if M. Secretarie him self remember it not) vvho put vnto this same Norton, being then for the said treasons in the Towver, and iustly in disgrace with her M. to pen matters of state, & to set dovvne orders and articles to be treated of against Catholikes in the parliament, and other places: the said persons can tel you perhaps, what he meant by these wordes often vttered in his disgrace.

Norton his  
suspicious  
wordes.

VVORTHY, WORTHY, Marreth al, but GRACIOUS, GRACIOUS, may make VVISER VVISER to amend al. the rack would picke as good matter out of this, as out of any poore Catholikes breast in Englād. And he to whom he vvrote these wordes, *Defend me, and spare me not, according to the Irish pro-uerbe:* can read the riddell.

Stubbs his  
booke.

The said Mistris Norton can tel also, where her husband did lay vp Stubbs booke against her M. for a secret treasure. which geare vvell sifted, vvould bevvray

bevvray vvorse affection and intention to, then  
they shal euer find in Catholikes; whilst they  
liue.

This *Stubbs* being the *Q* deadly enemy & then  
in the Tower for his traitorous booke, yvas of M.  
Lieutenants Counsel in al things, far better en-  
treated for his comfort and diet, then the earle of  
*Klanrickard*, vuttering to him al examinations of Ca-  
tholikes & vyhat other secrecies soeuer, to vyhom  
also *Charke*, one that yvas once put to silence for  
puritanisme, or a vvorse matter, if vvorse can be,  
sent his booke against *F. Campion* to be perused,  
vvhich things the Lieutenant vvould neuer haue  
done or permitted, if he had borne that good af-  
fection to her M. as he requireth in Catholikes, or  
if he and his fellovves might be posed in their  
thoughts, and of the time future, and their inten-  
tions to come.

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M. Lieutenants friend-  
lines tovv-  
ardes the *Q*.  
enemie.

Stubbs per-  
used *Charles*  
booke.

And it may be one of these fellovves deuises or  
some other of like spirit and inuention, to send  
the poore Catholikes whom they haue ruined at  
home, to *Terra Florida*, there to exercise their reli-  
gion and to haue freedom of conscience, a strange  
coozenage and craft, to be rid of the poore gen-  
tlemen vnder pretence of their preferment, but most  
men of the realme wish rather the puritans there,  
as an humor that our comonwealth had more need  
to be purged of.

An other  
new practi-  
se and perfe-  
ction.

Vwho are also better acquainted in those parts,  
as being once sent thither out of *Geneua* by Calvin,  
when the french made the like attempt vvith as  
good successe as I feare these shal haue, which in  
truth can not by the lavv of God and good con-  
science, if I take it right, possesse those partes which  
by former composition and by decree of *Alexander*  
*the vi*, pertaineth to an other Prince.

It is the Catholikes that haue iustly possessed  
England these thousand yeres, it is no reason they  
should

should be thrust into the Indies for their dwelling. but this is their art to weaken our side against the day of their full reueng, which may be reckoned amongst the greatest of our persecutions, and to proceed of a shrevvder head then *Nortons*.

The conclu-  
sion of the  
preface;  
vvith an ex-  
hortation &  
praier.

But al these deepe distresses, calamities and iniu-  
ries, which we suffer, not so much at her M. handes,  
or her grauest Counsellers as by these sinful, irreligi-  
ous persons, their il enformers, vve do from the  
bottome of our harts forgiue, and desire God of  
his vnspeakable mercie to turne avway his heauie  
hand of iustice, from the Realme, and from euery  
one, that either procured, or consented to the  
deaths of these his blessed Saints, or the trouble of  
his holy *Israel*, vvwhose blood and death most deare  
in our Lords sight, I pray CHRIST IESVS they  
cal not for vengeance, but for mercie and grace  
tovvards their persecutors, that they may rather  
with penance consider in this life against vvhom  
they haue pricked, then see and feele it to their con-  
fusion in the next.

The blisse  
of these mar-  
tyrs soules.

But whatsoeuer fal through this great sinne or  
our other offenses either to their ennemies, or to  
vs their frends, that are yet left in this vvretched  
world, in the worst daies that were this thovvsand  
yeres, and in the heauiest and most douteiful condi-  
tion of our countrey that was since the cōuersion:  
these Martyres are blessed, safe, free, past al mortal  
miseries, in the hands and garde of God, vvhere the  
torment of malice can not touch them, nor such  
reach them, of whom our Sauour said, *Be not afraid  
of them that kill the body, and after that haue no more  
to do.*

They are exceding happy certs, that liue not  
these dooleful daies, but a thousand times more  
happy, that haue the grace and priuiledge to yeld  
any drop of blood for the appeasing of Gods  
wrath, and assvvaging this publike rage of sinne  
and

and heresie. Their deaths precious, their soules in glorie, their memories in benediction, their names eternal: yea euen their bodies vvhich were the infirme part of these noble *Machabees*, though hanging on ports, pinnacles, poles & gibbets, though torne of beasts and birdes: yet rest in peace, and are more honorable, sacreed, and soueraine: then the embaumed bodies of vvhhat worldly state soeuer in their regal sepulchres.

The honor  
of their bo-  
dies.

That day and howver they stooode in the carte in misery and desolation as it seemed to the simple, yet euen then were they more happy then al the multitude that beheld them, neuer a wise man that there stooode thought otherwise, though the present paines and brieife ignominie seemed to fooles & carnal men to be extreeme miserie: but al those were so momentaine, that their better part was in heauens blisse, before their bodies were cold or out of the bouchiers hand, their soules praied vnto both by their happy fellowes openly, and by many a good man secretly, before their bones were cold. Because S. Augustine geueth vs that rule, That we must not pray for Martyrs, but pray to them.

The honor  
of the bo-  
dy  
of the  
soule  
of the  
body  
of the  
soule  
of the  
body

Vvhat honor shal they be in hereafter in Gods Church, and in our countrey specially, when malice and enuie shalbe worne out, it is easie to conic-  
ecture. Vvhen euen in the daies of their persecutors, and in as sharpe punishment, diligence and watch-fulnes, that their memories be not recommendable to the vworld, as euer was vsed of the old heathen persecutors, against S. *Policarp*, S. *Albon*, and other auncient Martyrs, yet their renoume hath passed through al the Christian world, and hath pearfed the very heretikes harts in Fraunce, Geneua and Germany. No talke, as I am credibly enformed, more common there, then of this late double slaughter, first of *E. Campion* and his two fellowes, then

The honor  
they be in  
already.

then of these vij. Machabees.

The great  
desire men  
haue of their  
reliques.

And for the Catholikes, of *Italie, Spaine, France* and namely (which is lesse to be marueled at) of *England*, more then the vweight in golde would be geuen, and is offered for any peece of their reliques, either of their bodies, haire, bones or garments, yea or any thing that hath any spot or staine of their innocent and sacred blood. Vwherein surely great diligence and honorable zeale hath been shewed by diuers noble gentilmé & vertuous people, that haue to their great dauger obtained some good peeces of them, to satisfie presently the godly greedy appetite of holy persons of diuers nations making extreeme sute for them.

The deuotion  
of the people  
towards  
their bodies  
already.

Marry that is most notable and memorable, that diuers deuoute people of our nation that can get no part of their sacred reliques, yet come as it were on pilgrimage to the places vwhere their quarters or heades be set vp, vnder pretence of gasing and asking vvhose heades or bodies they be, and what traitors they were, whose heades are set highe aboue others, there, to do their deuotion & prayers vnto them, vvhose liues they knevv to be so innocent, and deathes so glorious befor God and the world.

Is v! what a pleasur, what honor and blessednes haue their enemies done vnto them, thus suddenly and euerlastingly, to make them numbered in glorie amongst the saints: we and al their frends, and al the princes of the world, if they could haue yelded to them al the Kingdomes of the earth and the glorie thereof, could not haue benefited them so much vvitingly, as their enemies haue done against their intention, but by the prouidence of God, who turneth the wicked iniustice of man, to the eternal good and honor of his Church and Saints.

O good

O good God CHRIST IESVS, geue these, thy,  
 their, and our persecutors, for thy deaths sake, and  
 for this fresh blood of thy MARTYRS, and for  
 the groanes, sighes and teares, of so many thousand  
 thy chained, imprisoned and afflicted Saints, geue  
 them mercie and grace to see that they goe not the  
 right vway to saue our countrey & them selues from  
 perdition either temporal or eternal, humble their  
 harts to the obedience of thy *Lieutenant general*, and  
 to thy holy spovvse in earth, that so vnder thee,  
 and not against or aboue thee, our Prince ELIZA-  
 BETH as a member of thy Church, and not as head of  
 the same, may reduce her Realme to the vnitie of  
 the Christian vworld, and so rule and gouerne our  
 temporal & ciuil state, in long peace, much honor  
 and securitic. Amen.

Proverb 17.

*Qui iustificat impium & qui condemnat iustum, abomina-  
 bilis est vterque apud dominum.*

that is

He that iustificeth the impious, and he that condem-  
 neth the iust, both are abominable before God.



**A TRVE REPORT OF**  
**the death and Martyrdom of**  
**F. Campion Iesuite and Priest**  
**M. Shervin, and M. Bryan**  
**Priestes.**

Boetius li. i. de consol.  
 philosoph.

**Pro veræ virtutis premijs, falsi sceleris**  
**pœnas subimus.**

*And first, of F. Edmund Campion Priest, of the societie  
 of the name of IESVS, Bachiler of Diuinitie, and  
 sometime fellowe of S. Iohn Baptists Colledge in  
 Oxford.*

**T**H E R E three glorious Confessors,  
 learned, meeke, godly and constant  
 Priests, vpon the first day of December  
 in the yere of our Lord 1581, vvere  
 (vnder pretence of high treason, most  
 iniuriously, to the great lamentation generally of  
 al good men) dravven from the Towver to Ty-  
 borne, there to be Martyred for the CATHOLIKE  
 FAITH and RELIGION. F. Campion was alone on  
 one herdle, the other two together on an other,  
 all molested by Ministers and others calling vpon  
 them by the vway for their subuersion: and by some  
 also as opportunitie serued, and as in a case of so  
 great daunger it conueniently might be, com-  
 forted. and F. Campion specially, by one consulted  
 in some cases of conscience and religion, and the  
 myre wherewith he vvas al to be moyled most  
 cour-

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courteously vviped his face.

Vhen they vvere come to the place of execution, where diuers of her M. honorable Counsel, vvith many honorable personages, and Gentilmen of vvorship and good accompt, beside an infinite multitude of people, attended their coming, *F. Campion* vvvas first brought vp into the carte, where after some smale payvse, and after the great rumor of so many people somevvhat appeased, with graue countenance, and sweet voice, stovvtly spake as followveth.

*Spectaculum facti sumus* Deo, *Angelis & hominibus*, saying, these are the wordes of S. Paule, Englished thus: *We are made a spectacle, or a sight vnto God, vnto his Angels, and vnto men*: verified this day in me, who am here a spectacle vnto my Lord, a spectacle vnto his Angels, and vnto you men.

And here going forvvard in his text, vvvas interrupted and cut of by *Sir Francis Knowles* and the Sherifes, earnestly vrging him to cōfesse his treason against her M. & to acknovvledge him self guiltie. To whom he ansvvered saying, For the treasons which haue been laid to my charge, and I am come here to suffer for: I desire you al to beare witnesse with me, that thereof I am altogether innocent.

Vwherevpon, ansvver was made to him by one of the Counsel, that he might not seeme to deny the objections against him, hauing been proued so manifestly to his face, both by sufficient witnes and euidence. Vvel my Lord (quoth *F. Campion*) I am a Catholike man & a Priest, in that faith haue I liued hitherto, and in that faith I do entend to dye, and if you esteeme my religion Treason, then of force I must graunt vnto you, as for any other treason, I neuer committed, God is my Iudge.

But you haue now what you do desire, I beseech you to haue patience, and suffer me to speake a worde or tvvo, for discharge of my conscience.

d

But

His INNOCENCE.

A time, when such a man would neuer lye.

Great charity.

He expoundeth his letter, falsely construed by the aduersaries.

Vvhich in these miserable daies, must be done as secretly, as murder or treason.

A new practise to colour their iniustice.

But being not suffered to goe forward, he vvas forced to speake onely to that point which they most yrged, protesting that he was guiltles and innocent of al treason and conspiracie, crauing credit to be giuen to his ansvvers, as to the last ansvvere made vpon his death and soule: adding that touching this point, both the Iurie might easely be deceiued, and more also put into the euidence then was true. Notwithstanding he forgaue, as he would be forgiuen, desiring al them to forgeue him who he had confessed vpon the rack. (*for vpon the commissioners' oshes, that no harme should come vnto them, he vttered some persons, vvith vvhom he had been*).

Further he declared the meaning of a letter sent by him self in time of his imprisonment; to M. Pound a captiue then also in the Towver, in which he vvrot, he vvould not disclose the secrets of some howses vvhere he had been entertained, affirming on his soule, that the secrets he meât in that letter, vv ere not as it vvas misconstrued by the enemie, treason or conspiracie, or any matter els, any way entented against her M. or the state, but saying of Masse hearing of confession, preaching, and such like dueties and functions of Priesthod: this he protested to be true, as he vvould ansvver before God.

Then he desired Sir Frauncis Knowles, and some other of nobilitie to heare him touching one Richardson condemned about a booke of his, and earnestly besought them to haue consideration of that man, saying, he was not that Richardson vv hich brought his booke, and this he affirmed vvith vehement protestation vpon his death. (*This notwithstanding, Richardson was executed, one man for a nother, quid pro quo, like il poticaries.*)

Then one Hearne a schole Maister, as I lerned after, red the newv aduertisement openly vvith loude voiceto the people, published only to colour so manifest and expresse iniurie: F. *Campion* at the time

time of his reading, deuourelly praying.

49-

Notwithstanding vvhich aduertisement or defence of theirs, as vvell because they distrusted their ovvne pollicie in publication thereof, as that they did also desire some better coulour or faster visard for their proceedings, pressed him to declare his opinion of *Pius quintus* Bul concerning the excommunication of the Q. To which demaund he gaue no ansvver.

But being asked whether he renounced the **P O P E**, said he was a *Catholike*. wherevpon one inferred, saying: In your Catholicisme (I noted the worde) al treason is conteined. In fine, preparing him self to drinke his last draught of Christs cup, was interrupted in his praier by a Minister, willing him to say, Christ haue mercie vpon me, or some like praier with him: vnto whom he loking backe with milde countenance, humbly said: *You and I are not one in religion; vvhetherfore I pray you content your self, I barre none of praier, only I desire them of the household of faith to pray vvith me, and in my agonie to say one CREEDE* (for a signification that he died for the confession of the Catholike faith therein contained.)

Catholicisme is treason, in Atheisme.

Catholikes may not pray vvith Heretikes.

Some also called on him to pray in English: to whom he ansvvered, that he vvould pray in a language that he vvell vnderstood. At the vpsshot of this conflict he was willed to aske the Q. forgiveness and to pray for her.

And God to.

He meekely ansvvered: *Vvherein haue I offended her? In this I am innocent, this is my last speach, in this giue me credit, I haue and do pray for her.* Then did the Lord *Charles Howard* aske of him, For which Queene he praied, whether for *Elizabeth Q.* To whom he ansvvered, *Yea for Elizabeth your Queene and my Queene.* And the carte being dravven avway, he meekly and sweetly yelded his soule vnto his

INNOCENCE.

d ij

Sauour

Sauour, protesting that he died a perfect Catho-  
like.

In the booke  
printed in  
Mundaies  
name, of his  
death.

Vvhich his mylde death and former sincer pro-  
testations and speaches of his innocencie, moued  
the people to such compassion and teares, that the  
aduersaries in their printed bookes were glad to  
excuse the matter.

*B. Campion*  
martyred by  
Gods prou-  
idence in the  
citie of his  
natiuitie.

So graciously and gloriously this blessed man  
ended and ouercame in Christ al these mortal my-  
series, novv enjoying in heauen the triumphant  
croune of his happy confession and Martyrdom:  
made by Gods prouidence before all London, the  
place of his natiuitie. That such of his citizens as  
were not worthy to enioy the life and labours of  
one of the famousest persons that their citie hath  
bredde in our memorie: may yet, either by his sa-  
cred innocent bloude, povvred out here amonge  
them, or by his holy praers, which he novv doubt-  
les maketh both for his louing frendes and deadly  
persecutors, be conuerted from their damnable  
and palpable errors.

He praeth  
for his frēds  
and enue-  
mies.

His age.

He liued in this worlde about fortie and tyvo  
yeres: after his childhod and education in London,  
he was brought vp in *S. Iohns colledge* of Oxford,  
passingly beloued for his singular graces, of the  
founder thereof, *Sir Thomas Vvhite* of worthie me-  
morie, at whose burial he made an eloquent ora-  
tion in latine, hauing made the like before in En-  
glish, at the funerals of my *L. Dudley*, late wife to  
the Earle of *Leicester*. Vvhether after he had passed  
with al commendation through such exercises, de-  
grees and offices, as the vniuersitie yeldeth to men  
of his condition: though he vvere neuer wholly  
inclinable to the sectes of this time, yet by the im-  
portunate persvasions of some of his frendes,  
much desirous for his vworldly honor and aduan-  
cement to haue him come to the pulpite, and take  
liuinges, he suffered him selfe to be made deacon  
after

He passed  
through al  
offices in  
the vniuersi-  
ties.

after their newe manner, not wel knowing then,  
howe odible to God, that and the rest of their  
schismatical degrees be:

But for al that our Lord mercifully vwithheld  
him frō that ambitious course vvhich is the goulfe  
that many goodly wittes haue perished in, in  
these daies. Therefor spending some more time  
in study, and trauailing into Irland, the historie of  
which countrey he vvrotte very truly and elo-  
quently, hearing that there vvas a Seminary not  
longe before begonne in *Dorray*, thither he went,  
where after a yeres great diligence and many ex-  
cercises done booth in house and publike scholes,  
he proceeded bachilier of diuinitie, to his great  
comendation, and the honor of our nation.

He vvent  
into Irland  
& vvrot the  
storie ther-  
of eloquent-  
ly.

He vvent to  
the Semina-  
rie at Douay.

He proceed-  
ed Bachil-  
er of Diui-  
nitie.

Neuerthelesse al this while, specially, being  
nowv of more deuotion, zeale, lerning and iudge-  
ment then before, the continual cogitation of that  
Schismatical order of English deaconshipe which  
he had taken, did so sore oppresse his minde, and  
the conceite of the greatnes of that sinne, so bur-  
dened his conscience, that no counsel of lerned  
frendes could geue him satisfactiō, nor othervvise  
deliuer him of the fearful conceit of that prophane  
degree, til he entered into religion, by penance  
and holy profession to wipe a way the same.

His trouble  
of minde  
for taking  
scismatical  
orders.

So making his choise of the societie of the name  
of *Iesus*, he vvent to Rome, where by the su-  
perior of that order he vvas admitted, and so not  
remaining in the Citie much more then a moneth,  
he was sent into *Beameland*, where he abode viij.  
yeres, and vvas made Priest in Prague, continually  
teaching, preaching, catechizing, writing and tra-  
uailing for the Church of God. Vwhereby he be-  
came so famous, that not onely other principal  
states, but the Imperial Maiestie was contented  
often to heare him preach. Til at lenght by the sute  
of such as knevve his great graces in dealing with

He vvent to  
*Rome*, and  
there ente-  
red into re-  
ligion.

He is sent  
into *Beam-*  
*land*.

Made priest.

He prea-  
cheth befor  
the Empe-  
rour.

heretikes for their conuerſion, his General called him thence to be beſtoꝝved vpon his oꝝvne natiue countrey.

He is ſent home againe by his ſuperiors.

His cõmu-  
nicatiõ with  
D. Allen.

D. Allens  
anſwer.

In vyckliſſes  
time, of  
vvhom they  
lerned their  
heresies.

The day of  
his arriual  
in England.

He vvas  
ſtaied at  
Douer.

Vvhitheꝝvvarde by longe and great trauail he came going about by Rome (becauſe his ſuperiors kneꝝve him not, nor would not ſend him before they ſaꝝve him) and by Remes, vvhẽre beſides other communication parteining to the reduction of our countrey to the Catholike faith, he demaunded of D. Allen whether he thought that any ſeruiſce he could do in England the time being as it is, were like to be vꝝvorth al theſe long labours and hazardes paſt and to come: or might counteruaile the lackes that thoſe ſhould ſeeme to haue by his abſence from whence he came. To which D. Allen anſꝝvered.

Father (quoth he) fiſt, vꝝvhatſoeꝝver you did there, may be done by others one or mo of your order. Secondly, you oꝝvve more duetic to England then to Beamlãd, and to London, then to Prague: though it liketh me vꝝvel that you haue made ſome recompence to that countrey for the old wounde it receiꝝved by vs. Thirdly, the recouerie of one ſoule from hereſie, is vꝝvworth al your paines, as I hope you ſhal gaine a great many: becauſe the harueſt is both more plentiful and more ripe with vs, then in thoſe partes. Finally, the revꝝvard may be greater, for you may be martyred for it at home, vꝝvwhich you can not obtaine lightly there. So he vꝝvas ſatiſfied, and of this communication I haue heard him often ſpeake.

And at laſt he happely landed at Douer vpon the morrow aſter Midſomer-day, the yere 1580. being by Gods great goodnes deliꝝvered out of the ſearchers and officers handes, who held him with them vpon ſuſpicion for certaine houres, vpon deliberation to haue ſent him to the Councel.

That

That vvas Christes special vvorke and prouidence, to be glorified booth in his preaching a vvhole yere, to the inspeakable good of innumerable deceiued foules, and also in his precious death aftervvard. Comming therefore to London, he preached there his first sermon vpon *SS. Peter and Paules* day, which I vvas at my selfe, hauing a mon-  
ful audience and very vvorshipful: but aftervvard booth there, and in sundry partes of the realme, far greater through the fame and experience of his manifold vertues, great eloquence and lerning, many Protestantes of good nature at sundry times admitted also to the same, vvho euer aftervvard contemned their vulgar pulpit men in comparison of him.

The first man of calling to whose hovvse he vvas conducted in the countrey, demaunded of the person that brought him thither, being him selfe of good worship, what he vvas, and from vvhence he came, and lerning that he vvas a religious man, and one that had bene long in foraine partes: before he vvould admitte him, toke him aside and asked the causes of his retorne home, and repaire to him, and whether he meant not vnder coulor of religion to withdravv her M. subiectes from their obedience.

To which he answered, protesting befor God, that he had neither other commission of his superiors, nor intetion of him self, then to minister the holy Sacraments, preach, and teach the people to saluation: and that he neither could nor vvould medle with matter of state. Vwherevpon the partie embraced him, and bid him hartely welcome to his hovvse. Finding aftervvard by a littel further acquaintance, which al the world might see, that he vvas no man for worldly matters, but only for the schole, Church and pulpit, wherein his giftes vv ere excellent, in the highest degree.

And from that day, til his apprehension, he  
 wepreached preached once a day at the least, often twise, and  
 daily and sometimes thrise. whereby through Gods goodnes  
 often. he conuerted sundry in most shires of the Realme,  
 He conuer- of most wisdom and vvorshipe, besides yong  
 ted many of the best sort. Gentilmen studentes and others of al sortes.

At his first entrance he made his proffer of dis-  
 putation for such causes as he alleaged in the same,  
 His chalédg and his and more at large aftervvard in his eloquent and  
 booke vvrit- lerned booke to both the vniuersities. Vvhereby  
 ten to the the Protestant Preachers and Prelates, found them  
 vniuersities. selues so deeply wounded in their doctrine and  
 credite, notvvithstanding they had patched vp a  
 fevv pamphletes vvithout al grace against him, that  
 they pricked her M. Councel to alter the question  
 from controuersie in religion, to the cause of the  
 Prince and matter of state, that so they might de-  
 fend that by force & authoritie, which they could  
 not do by all their lerning and diuinitie.

Therevpon it was geuen out by diuers speaches  
 and proclamations, that great confederacies of  
 P O P E and foraine Princes vvere made for the in-  
 uasion of the Lande, and that the Iesuistes and Se-  
 minary Priestles were sent in sorsoth to prepare  
 their waies: and such like trumperie, to beguile  
 and incense the simple against them. Then al ex-  
 quisite diligence was vsed for the apprehension of  
 others, but specially of *F. Campion*, vvhom being  
 but one among thousandes of the Churches chil-  
 dren, nor the cheefe in England of his order, yet  
 they called the Popes Champian and right hand.

The follie  
 of the ad-  
 uersarie.

*Eliot* the  
 traditor.

His appre-  
 hension.

At length after he had laboured in Gods haruest  
 welnere xiiij. Monethes, by the notorious wicked-  
 nes of on *George Eliote* a forelorne fellowv, such as  
 for affliction of holy men this vvorld commonly  
 vseth, after long search and much a doe, by Gods  
 permission he fel into the persecutors hands the  
 xvij. of Iuly 1581. being found in a secret clofset

in a Catholike Gentilman and confessors house,  
 called *M. Rates of Lyford* & two Godly Priests *M. Andin* what  
*Forde* and *M. Collington* being with him, all lying, fort.  
 vwhen the ennemy discovered them, vpon a bed  
 their faces & handes lifted vp to heauen. He offered  
 his ij fellovves before in the time of the search, His charitie.  
 that if they thought al that a doe vvas for him, and  
 that his yelding might acquite them, he vwould  
 geue him selfe vp to their handes, but they would  
 not suffer that, in any vvise: but hearing one an  
 others confession expected Gods good vvil toge-  
 ther, euery one hauing enioyned penance to say  
 thrise, *Fiat voluntas tua domine, thy vvil be fulfilled* and  
*Sante Ioannes Baptista ora pro me, saint Iohn Baptist*  
*pray for me.* Vwhich blessed Saint they principally  
 praied vnto, for that the said *Father Campion*, vvas  
 deliuered as he toke it, out of the searchers handes His patrons.  
 at Douer, by the holy mediation of that holy  
 prophet, his special patrone.

But *F. Campion* the man of God, being now in His behavi-  
 the povver of his said traditor, and the officers, and our.  
 made a spectacle, and matter of mockerie to the  
 vnnvise multitude & vngodly of al sortes, shewed  
 such marckable modestie, myldnes, patience, and  
 Christian humilitie in al his speeches and doings,  
 that the good vvere exceedingly edified, and the  
 ennemies much astonied.

After ij. daies that he vvas in the sherife of His caryng  
*Barke* hires custodie, he vvas caried with the rest vp to Lon-  
 as vvell Priests as Gentilmen, and other in that place  
 apprehended, tovvards London. In the vvay he  
 had many pretie and plesant disputes, speeches and  
 ansvvers vvith the Gentilmen that garded him, &  
 other that came to see him: to their vvonderful  
 liking & admiratiō of his so cheereful and Christiā  
 behauour, in the midst of his destresses, which to  
 the worldly there about him seemed intolerable,  
 but to him that had such an invvard man they were  
 nothing.

*Eliot's speech  
to F. Cam-  
pion.*

At Abington among others, diuers schollers of Oxford came to see the man so famous, vvhenceof being tolde by one *M. Lidcote*, he said, he vvas very glad, him selfe being once of that vninerſitie, and asked vvhether they vould heare a sermon. There at dinner *Eliot* said vnto him, *M. Campion*, you looke cherefully vpon euery body but me, I knowe you are angrie vvith me in your hart for this vvorke: God forgeue the *Eliot* (said he) for so iudging of me: I forgeue thee, and in token thereof I drinke to thee, yea and if thou vvilt repent and come to confession I vvill absolue thee: but large penance thou must haue.

*M. Filbies  
strange dre-  
ame.*

Aftervvard at Henley, *M. Filby* a Priest and one of the prisoners (not found in the house vvith the rest, but taken in the vvatch, as he vvas comming to the house) had in his sleepe a significant dreame or vision, of the ripping vp of his body and taking out of his bowels: the terrour vvhenceof caused him to cry so loud, that the vvhole house vvas raised thereby, vvvhich aftervvard in his ovvne, *F. Campions*, and other his fellowes Martyrdom, vvas accomplis hed.

*Disgraces  
donne to F.  
Campion.*

Besides the tying of their legges vnder the horses bellies, and binding their armes behind them, vvvhich was done to others also, the Couſel appointed special punishment and disgraces for *F. Campion*, not euer vvont to be done til the partie vvere conuicted of some crime, commaunding a paper to be set vpon his hat vvith great capital letters shewving him to be **CAMPION THE SEDITIOUS IESUIT**: as the herodiās once reuested his Maister for the like cause, and in like kind of mockerie vvith kingly robe, crowne, and scepter.

And to take their further pleasure of him, order vvas geuen, they should stay at Colbrucke a good peece of friday and al night that thence they might bring him and his fellowes vpon Saturday in triumph through the citie and the vvhole length thereof

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thereof, specially through such places where by  
reason of the markets of that day, the greatest con-  
course of the common people vvas, vvhom in such  
matters they seeke of pollicie most to please, vvhich  
vvas executed accordingly: al London almost be-  
holding the spectacle, the simple gasing and vwith  
delite beholding the noueltie, the vwise lamenting  
to see our countrie fallen to such barbarous iniqui-  
tie, as to abuse a sacred man so honorable in al na-  
tions for his lerning, and of so innocent a life.

The vwise  
lamer.  
The simple  
gaze.

Vwhen he came by the Grosse in Chepe, in the  
best maner he could being pinyoned, He christianly  
made the signe of our Sauour vpon his brest: and  
vwith like humilitie, deeply bent his bodie for reue-  
rence to vwardes Christs image there. Vvhich vvas a  
strange sight to the deceiued people of that place.

He doth re-  
uerce to the  
CROSS  
vvhich in  
these daies  
there, is o-  
dious.

So that day vvhich vvas the xxij. of Iuly, he  
vvas deliuered vp to the Lieutenant of the Towere.  
Vwhere besides the ordinarie miseries incident to  
that kind of imprisonnement, doubled by the inhu-  
maine dealing and deepe hatred of Catholikes,  
of the cheefe officer there, after sundry examina-  
tions, terrors, and threattes by the L. Chauncellor  
and other of the Counsel and commission, he vvas  
diuers times racked, to vving out of him by intol-  
erable torments vvhose houses he frequented, by  
vvhom he vvas releiued, vvhom he had reconciled,  
vvhath he knewe ( a strange case ) by their confes-  
sions, vvhon, vvhich vway, for vvhath purpose, by  
vvhath commission, he came into the Realme, hovv,  
vvhon, and by vvhom, he printed and dispersed his  
bookes and such like.

Committed  
to prison in  
the Towver.

The rigor  
and hatred  
of the Lieu-  
tenant.

Often exa-  
mined and  
racked.

The interro-  
gatories at  
his first rack-  
ing.

At his first racking they vvent no farther vwith  
him, vsing no great rigor vwith him in the torment:  
but after vvhon they sawv he could not be  
vvon to cōdescende somvvhath at least in religion,  
vvhich they most desired, they thought good to  
forge matter of treason, and framed their deman-  
dos

The 2. rack-  
ing, is for  
forged Trea-  
sons.

siuy 30T  
Jurnal  
eleat 30T  
1572

The infidelitie of the Protestant messenger.

2916 30T  
1572

1572  
1572

His vſage before he vvent to the rack.

His patience vpon the rack.

1572

His charitie.

A pitiful case.

The communication betwixt him & his keeper.

He was merrie in God in al his myseries.

des accordingly, about vvhich he vvas so cruelly torne and rent vpon the torture the two laste times; that he told a secret friend of his that found meanes to speake vvith him, that he thought they meant to make him a vvay in that sort & that they demaunded him questions of relieuing vvith money the Irish rebels, of conspiring the Queenes death, inuasion of the realme, & of the lence of certaine vvordes of a letter vvwhich he vvrote to M. Pount for answer of his former, vvwhich a good fellow promised by othe & his faith (that is the faith of a protestant) receiuing an angel for his labour to deliuer sassy, but did not. The meaning of the vvordes he both then and aftervvard, as vvell at the barre, as at his death vttered most sincerely: and for the rest if they had torne him in ten thousand peeces or stilled him to the quint essence, in that holy breast they should neuer haue found any peece of those fained treasons.

He vsed to fal dovvne at the rackehovvse dore vpon both knees to commend him selfe to Gods mercie and to craue his grace of patience in his paines. As also being vpon the racke he cried continually vvith much myldenes vpon God and the holy name of I E S V S. And vvhen his body vvas so cruelly distent and streached vpon the torment that he did hang by his armes and feete onely, he most charitably forgave his tormenters, and the causers thereof, and thanked one of the rack men meekely for putting a stone vnder his backe bone. He said to his keeper after his last racking, that it vvas a preface to death.

And his said keeper asking him the next day howv he felt his handes and feet: he answered, not ill, because not at al. And being in that case benommed both of hand and fore, he likened him selfe to an elephant, vvwhich being dovvne could not rise: vvhen he could hold the bread he had to eate, be-

tvvixt

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trvixt both his handes, he vwould compare him  
selfe to an ape: so mirry the man of God vvas in  
minde in al his bodely miseries.

Now the ennemies not contented thus, and by  
many other vnwonted vvaies of tortures, secretly  
as is said vsed toward him to afflict his body, but  
also no lesse by a thousand deuillish deuises and  
sclaunderous reportes, sought to wronge him in his  
fame. Opening al the impure mouthes of the Mini-  
sters in London, to barke against the man of God:  
sometimes, that there vvas great hope he vwould  
be come a protestant: sometimes, that he had been  
at the Church, and seruice: an other vvhile, that he  
had vttered vpon the rack al that euer he knevv:  
yea sometime they bleve out of the Towre, that he  
had therefore killed himselfe in prison: vvhich no  
doute they vwould further haue auouched, if he had  
died by racking, as it vvas very like he should haue  
done.

The Mini-  
sters false  
reports and  
sclaunders of  
him.

The Lieutenant at the beginning hoping yere-  
ly that he might be gayned to their side in some  
pointes, either by swecte vvordes, great promises  
of promotions, or extreme tormens, extolled the  
man exceedingly, affirming diuers times that he vvas  
such an one as England neuer brought furth: and  
suer (said he) it is Gods singular goodnes that he  
retorned home. No doute her Maiestie vvil preferre  
him to great livings.

The Lieute-  
nants pra-  
ctise.

And that he might lacke no good pretence to  
yeld vnto their desires, they often brought to him  
such diuines as they had, to conferre vvith him: and  
to persvade him priuatly to relente somvvhay to  
their sect: but not preuailing that vvay, they caused  
vnder coulor of satisfying his former chalenge of  
disputation, diuers publike disputs, or rather cer-  
taine light skirmishes, to barke at him, and exa-  
mine him: 4. or 5. of the contrary side, al prouided  
as vvell as they could, against one voyd of al helps  
sauiing

Potestants  
brought to  
cōfere vvith  
him.

Disputations.

The disorder of their conference.

The partialitie vsed in the disputations.

Their ignorance in diuinitie.

No care of religion.

sauing Gods grace and learning: nowv, one snatching and nowv another, and somtimes al biting together, besides the Maisters of the game, that vwhen they sawv F. *Campion* in ansvvering and defending him selfe (for he vvas neuer suffered to oppose) to gripe the aduersaries hard, then they parted them vwith their tipstanes, commaunding him to silence, and threatening him vwith lawves, authoritie and punishment.

Thus they disputed iij seueral times vwith the man of God, shewing nothing in the vworld, but barbarous despite, malice, and so deepe ignorance in diuinitie, that truely diuers of the protestants them selues vvere ashamed thereof, and marueled exceedingly at the others learning, meekenes, patience and humilitie. But these disputations are to be published, and long sithince should haue been, but that having but hard meanes to print, and fewv presses and many other bookes in hand, it could not yet be donne.

And nowv by this time falling from al hope of his yelding to them, and so from al pitie and good affection towards him, they practised howv to make him and his fellovves avway by some shewv of iustice, and that not for the newv made treasons: that is to lay, for meere religion, which in truth fewv of our aduersaries haue any care of: but for matters of treason, so called of old, and action against the state, meaning by the state (whatsoever they othervvise pretende) not the preservation of her Maiestie & the weale-publike in deede, which would and might flourish, and more securely stand with the Catholike Religio, then by the sect nowv allowed, but the wealfare of some fewv raised and vpholden by this newv religion. Vvel they forged matter for their purpose and to English cares most odible: and found out three or foure false fellovves that would not sticke to svvere for their sake the same

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same, against him whom they neuer knew nor  
saw in their life, before his apprehension. And  
yet fearing lest nothing which they could faine  
and forge should be hable for any ouert act done  
or past to touch him, they fraudulently sought  
before hand to seeke his inward intentions and  
cogitations of future things also, by certaine de-  
maundes concerning the Bul of excommunication  
put furth against the Queene, or that might be pu-  
blished hereafter. that so at least they might seeme  
to cōdemne him for his internal ill affection, whom  
they could not couinct of any traiterous external  
fact. So they caused an enditement to be drawen  
against him and a number more of most godly lear-  
ned Priests, comprising him and them al in one, and  
together, that whatsoener coulocrably might be  
auouched or witnessed of the rest or any on of the  
al either present or absent, al might seeme to the  
simple and to the leury deeply biazed by feare and  
authoritie, to touch him also vvith the rest.

The 14 day of Nouember an. 1581. he and seuen  
others were brought frome the towre to the kings  
beanches barre, and a bille of their enditement  
read in the hearing of *F. Campion* and the rest: how  
that in the xxij yere of the raigne of our soueraigne  
Lady the Queene *May vltimo*, in the parties beyond  
the seas, they had practised the Q. deposition and  
death, and the stirring of rebellion within, and in-  
uasion of the Realme from abroad and such like  
stufte. Vwherevpon he was arraigned vvith the  
other, and commaunded as custome is in such cases,  
to hold vp his hand: but being pitifully by his  
often cruel racking benumbed before of bothe his  
armes, and hauing them vvrapped in a furred cuffe,  
he vvvas not able to lifte his hand so high, nor in  
that fort as the rest did, and vvvas required of him:  
one of his fellovves humbly kissing his sacred  
handes, so vvroung for the confession of Christ,  
took

The endite-  
ment.

tooke of his cufte, and so he lifted vp his arme as  
 highe as he could pleading not guiltie, as the rest  
 did, and not much standing vpon priuilege of their  
 cleargie, vvhich they knew in this vvhicked time  
 in that courte could haue no place, he and al the  
 other agreed to be tried by God and their coun-  
 trey. Vvhervvith *F. Campion* said as a true Father in  
 the behalfe of him selfe and the rest of his chil-  
 dren: I protest before God and his Angels, before  
 heauen and earth, before the vvhorld and this barre  
 vvhervvith I stande, vvhich is but a smale resem-  
 blance of the terrible iudgement of the next life,  
 that I am not guiltie thereof, nor of any part of  
 treason contained in the inditement, or of any  
 other treason vyhatsoeuer. Againe (quoth he) to  
 proue any such thing against me, it is merely im-  
 possible. And then vvvith great admiration and zea-  
 lous indignation he lift vp his voice. Is it possible  
 to find xii. so wicked and consciencelesse men in  
 this citye or land, that vvill find vs guiltie togea-  
 ther of this one crime, diuers of vs neuer meeting  
 nor knowinge one the other before our bringing  
 to this barre? And at the same time whē they asked  
 the other severally by whom they would be tried,  
 the blessed confessor *M. Sherrvine*, with great cou-  
 rage, clapping his hand vpon the barre, answered,  
 That they would be tried by God and the coun-  
 trie, and by al the trials that be in heauen or earth,  
 that God or man hath. Thus much onely done that  
 day, and a quest was impanelled for the next mū-  
 day: being the xx. day of the same moneth. But  
 three of the first of that impanel being Squiers, be-  
 loth to be of like fearing God and doubting that iustice should  
 haue no free course that day: But that conscience  
 were like to be put to silence in these mens case,  
 whose bloud was so earnestly thirsted after, those  
 three I say appered not when the day came. *Lye*  
*Vtterbarrester* in the Inner temple with the rest,  
 made

Smale re-  
 spect of Cle-  
 argie now.

*F. Campion's*  
 protestatio.

*M. Sherrvine's*  
 protestatio.

Some vvere  
 loth to be of  
 the Quest.

*M. Lye for*  
 man of this  
 Quest.

made their apparance. In the meane time *F. Campion* & his fellow confessors, were recaried to the prisons from vvhence they came.

They were brought backe againe to iudgement the xx. day of Nouembre before mentioned. where notwithstanding what commaundement soeuer, or order taken to the contrary, there vvas such a presence of people, & that of the more honorable, vvise, lerned and best sort, as vvas neuer seen nor heard of in that court, in our, or our fathers memories before vs, or at any arraignment of the greatest dukes or peeres of this land (excepting the number of Lordes which are there in that case of necessitie) so vvonderful an expectation there was, of some, to see the ende of this maruelous tragedie, contening so many strang and diuers acts, of examining, racking, disputing, treacheries, proditions, subornations of false vvitnesses, and the like: of others, to behold vvwhether the old honor of lavv and iustice, wherein our nation hath of al the world had the praise, could or durst stand, notwithstanding any violent impression of povver and authoritie to the contrary. Vvwhether there vvwere any *Markans* left in the land that would yeld vp coiffe, office and life, rather then geue sentence against such as they knevy in cōscience to be innocent, & in truth not touched by any evidence what soeuer. But this one day gaue that assembly and al the vvorld, both present and to come, proffe of the piticful fal, together with the **CATHOLIKE FAITH**, of Equitie, lavv, conscience and iustice, in our poore countrie.

For nothing there said by the *Queenes Atturney*, *Solliciter* or other Councillers of that kinde, either by any of those that vvwere at their racking, either by the suborned false vvitnesses, could in any wel enformed mans conscience, touch any of them: as euery of the rest, and specially this

The great number of nobles and others, that were present to see the event of this strange arraignment.

In *Edward* the 4. his daies.

No sufficient proofes brought against them.

man

man of God *F. Campion* did point by point proue  
*F. Campions* and declare, as cleare as the sunne. Yet of al the rest  
 actions least *F. Campions* innocencie & defence vvas so plaine in  
 subject to- *F. Campions* al mens sight, that what coulour soeuer might be  
 calumniatio. made for the others condemnation, yet for *F. Cam-*  
*pions* none at al. In so much that whilst the iurre  
 The iudge- *pions* were gone furth, diuers wise and vvel lerned law-  
 ment of the vwere gone furth, diuers wise and vvel lerned law-  
 that stood iers and others, coniecturing and conferring one  
 by. with an other what should be the verdict, they al  
 agreed that it was impossible to condemne *F. Cam-*  
*pion*, although some of the rest perhaps might vpon  
 some sequele be declared guiltie.

But it was *F. Campion* that specially vvas desi-  
 They sought gnied to die, and for his sake the rest. And therefore  
 specially *F. Campions* no defence could serue. The poore xij. therefore  
 death. did that, that they thought was loked for at their  
*M. Popham* handes, and made them al guiltie, which *M. Popham*  
 gaue them a told them must needes be found: the vniustest ver-  
 watch word dict that euer I thinke vvas geuen vp in that land,  
 that the Q. vwhereat alreedy, not onely England, but al the  
 Would haue it founde. Christian vworld doth vvonder, and al our poste-  
 ritie shal lament, and be ashamed of the same.  
 Therevpon the sentence of like iniquitie, that al  
 The senten- these holy men should be hanged, dravven and  
 ce. quartered, after the vsual termes of iudgement in  
 the crime of treason, vvas geuen: & so that doleful  
 day vvas spent. *F. Campion* and his happie associats  
 reioyced in God, vsing diuers holy speeches of  
 scriptures to their ovvne comforts and other mens  
 much edifying, and so were sent backe to their  
 prisons againe, vwhere being laied vp in yrons for  
 the rest of their time, expected Gods mercie and the  
 Queenes pleasure.

And this blessed *F. Campion* amongst the rest  
 The good passed his time vvith such godly spiritual exercises,  
 opinion of vvith such patience and svete speeches to his  
 his keeper. keeper and others that had to deale with him, who  
 aftervvard hauing the custody of Norton, com-  
 paring

paring their conditions together, said plainly, he had before a Saint in his keeping, & now a Diuel for vvhich speech the plaine spoken man vvas shent.

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And al this vvhile, they stil tempted him to their religion promising life and libertie, notwithstanding his pretended hainous treasons, if he would yeld neuer so litle vnto them: in so much as the Lieutenant said to his sifter that came to visite him but iij daies before his Martyrdom, if he wil yet conforme him self, I wil make him spend a hundredeth povnds by the care. But his grace & excellencie could not be expugned by such base profers, the kingdome of England and al the vvealth and glorie therein, not being a iust permutation for the least of his vertues, much lesse for his deare soule bought with Christs pretious bloud, and adorned with Gods so singular giftes and graces, the crowne and revuarde whereof, he receiued vpon the first of December as is aforesaid.

His temptations to yeld.

The Lieutenant's proffer to his sifter.

The morning that he was brought furth to dye, he meet with *M. Sherwin* and *M. Brian* expecting his coming in *Cowdharbar*. Vwhere there passed much sweete speech and embrasing one of an other: al which vvhile *M. Lieutenant* sought for *F. Campions* buffe ierkine, meaning if he could haue found it, for the more disgrace of the man of God, to haue executed him in it, so base is the despiteful malice of such, who vwith al the persecutors of Gods Saintes, shal be doonge and durte, when these men shal be gloriouse in heauen and earth. Vwhen he was brought furthe among the people, he said aloovde, *God saue you, God blesse you al, and make you Catholikes.*

The base & malicious spite of the heretike,

And so was caried avway to the ordinarie place of execution, and was hanged vpon the new galloves. which is novv called among Catholikes the *Gibbet of Martyrs*, because it was first set vp and dedicated

The Gibbet of Martyrs.

dedicated in the bloud of an innocent Catholike Confessor, and afterward by this mans, and diuers Priests and others Martyrdoms, made sacred.

After he had trauailed a good while in the spiritual haruest of our countrey, he wrote this letter folowing of the state thereof to his general, which I wil set dovvne in Latine as he wrote it, because he had a special grace in that language.

## THE COPIE.

**P**OST QUAM, diuina fretus misericordia, quintum iam mensem in his locis dego, R. P. putauit faciundum, vt qui status rerum sit, quique videatur futurus, literis exponerem. Aues enim scire, sat scio, cum pro communi sollicitudine, tum pro tuo in me amore, quid agam, quid sperem, quidve proficiam. Priora scripseram Audomaropoli, que deinceps consecuta sunt, paucis accipe.

Dei consilio factum interpretor, vt quā dies ipsos quatuor, ventos secundos expectassem, quinto demum, qui festus *Ioanni Baptista* fuit, diuo tutelari meo, cui causam iterque sepe cōmendaueram, vesperi nauigare. Postridie, summo mane, *Dorobernium* appulimus, homulus meus et ego. Ibi minimum absuit quin caperemur. Coram Prætorē ciuitatis iussi comparuimus. Ille multa coniectat, nos esse qui eramus: hostes hæreticarum partium, amantes auitæ fidei, dissimulasse nomina, religionis causa domo abfuisse

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fuisse, eius propaganda studio rediisse. Vñ  
vrgebat, *Alanum* esse me, quod quidem ego,  
iureiurando, si opus esset interposito, me  
negaturum profitebar.

Tandem decernit, idque crebro repetit,  
cùm certa custodia, ad regni proceres tran-  
smitti oportere. Neque scio, quis illi nouā  
mentem iniecerit, preter Deum, cui tacitus  
interea supplicabam, *D. Ioanne* adhibito pre-  
catore, cuius auspicijs eo perueneram. Re-  
pente prodit senex, cui Deus benefaxit.  
Placet, inquit, vos dimitti. Valete. A vola-  
uimus. Hæc & hijs similia, quæ hîc experior  
quum apud me reputo, confirmor in sen-  
tentia, comprehensum iri, cum ea res ad  
maiorum Dei gloriam spectabit, non prius.

Londinū attingi. Duxit me bonus ange-  
lus nescientem, in eandem domum, quæ *P.*  
antea *Robertum* exceperat. Accurrunt nobilif-  
simi iuuenes, saluant, vestiunt, ornant, ar-  
mant, emittunt ex vrbe. Partem aliquam  
regionis obequito pene quotidie. Ingens  
omnino messis est. Sedens in equo meditor  
conciunculam, quam ingressus in domum  
perpolio. Deinde, si qui me adeunt, collo-  
quor, aut confitentes audio. Mane peracto  
facto, verba facio. Aures afferunt sitientes,  
Sacramenta percipiunt frequentissimi.

In ijs administrandis passim iuuamur à  
sacerdotibus, quos vbique reperimus. Ita fit  
vt & populo satisfiat, & hæc prouincia mi-

nus, laboriosa nobis reddatur. Presbyteri  
nostrates ipsi doctrina & sanctimonia præ-  
stantes, tantam opinionem nostri ordinis  
excitarunt, vt venerationem quam nobis ex-  
hibent Catholici, non nisi timidè com-  
morandam existimem. Quò magis viden-  
dum est, vt subsidiarij, quibus nunc maximè  
indigemus, eiusmodi sint, qui hæc omnia  
probè sustentent. Ante omnia concionibus  
habendis exerceantur. Diu euadere manus  
hæreticorum non possumus: tot oculi, tot  
ora, tot hostium insidiæ.

Habitu dementissimo sum, quem sæpe  
commuto, itémque nomina. Lego ipse lite-  
ras, in quarum prima pagella scribitur, *Cam-  
pianus captus est*. Hoc iam ita decantatum cir-  
cunsonat aures meas quocunque venio, vt  
mihi timor ipse timorem excusserit. *Anima  
mea in manibus meis semper*. Hoc afferant medita-  
tum, qui supplementi gratia mittentur.

Verùm quæ solatia in hoc negotio mi-  
scentur, ea non solùm formidinem pœnæ,  
sed etiam pœnas quasilibet infinita dulcedi-  
ne compensant. Conscientia pura, robur in-  
uictum, ardor incredibilis, opera insignis,  
numerus innumerabilis, summi, medij, infi-  
mi, omni ætate & sexu. Hic inter ipsos hæ-  
reticos, si qui sunt paulò æquiores, prouer-  
bium inoleuit, Catholicos esse, qui argen-  
tum resoluant quod debent: adeoque si qui  
Catholici iniuriosius quempiam tractant,  
expostulatur

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expostulatur eo nomine, quod à talibus minime isthuc fieri conueniat.

In summa, hæresis pessime audit apud omnes. nec vllum genus hominum vulgo vilius, aut putidius est, ipsorum ministris. Merito indignamur, in tam perditâ causa, homines tam indoctos, tam sceleratos, tam disiectos, tam abiectos, cultissimis ingenijs dominari.

Circumferuntur in nos edicta minacissima. Cautione, & honorum precibus, &, quod caput est, diuino munere, incolumes bonam Insulæ partem peruasimus. Plerosque video, oblitos sui, de nobis esse sollicitos. Quidam ijs diebus acciderat, quod non speraram, Dei voluntate.

Posueram in scripto, articulatè causas & postulata quædam æquissima. Fassus me Presbyterum societatis, hoc animo venisse, vt amplificarem fidem catholicam, docerem euangelium, administrarem sacramenta, petebam à Regina & regni principibus audientiam, & aduersarios ad certamen provocabam. Decreueram penes me vnum exemplar tenere, vt mecum ad iudices raperetur; alterum amico cõmiseram, vt si me meumque prenderent, illud continuò spargeretur.

Amicus non celauit, edidit, teritur, aduersarij insaniunt. Pro suggestu respondent, se quidem cupere, Reginam nolle, rebus iam constitutis, amplius disputare. Nos la-

cerant maledictis. Seditiosos, hypocritas, etiam hereticos appellant, quod maxime fideretur. Populus ea re noster est. Mirifice nobis hoc erratum profuit. Si iubemur fide publica, dabimus nos in curiam. Sed nihil minus cogitant.

Omnes custodiæ nostræ refertæ sunt catholicis, non parantur. Nunc demum aperte pronuntiant, satius esse paucos interfectioni dedere proditores, quam tot animas prodere. De suis martyribus iam tacent. Superamus enim causa, numero, dignitate, opinione omnium.

Afferimus pro aliquot apostatis aut factoribus exultis, Episcopos, Regulos, Equites, antiquissimam nobilitatem, spectacula doctrinæ, probitatis, prudentiæ, lectissimam iuventutem, matronas illustres, reliquos fortunæ mediocris planè extra numerum, omnes aut semel, aut quotidie consumptos. Dum hæc scribo, immanissima sequitur persecutio. Mæsta domus. Nam aut mortem suorum prædicant, aut latebras, aut vincula, aut rapinam bonorum; tamen pergunt animose.

Etiâ nunc plurimi restituntur Ecclesiæ, nouitij milites dant nomina: veterani sanguinem profundunt. Hoc sacro cruore, ipsique hostijs promerebitur Deus, & sine dubio breui vincemus. Vides ergo R. P. quantopere vestris sacrificijs, & precibus, & celesti

celesti auxilio egeamus.

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Erunt in Anglia, qui curent salutem suā,  
erunt qui prouchant alienam: irascatur ho-  
mo, sequiat dæmon. Tandiu hæc Ecclesia con-  
sistet, dum pastores ouibus non deerunt.  
Impedior presentissimi rumore periculi, ne  
plura hoc tempore.

*Exurgat Deus, & dissipen-  
tur inimici eius.*

Vale.

Ed. Camp.

## THE SAME IN ENGLISH.

*Right Reuerend Father.*

**H**A VING now passed by Gods great  
mercie fīue monethes in these places,  
I thought it good to giue you intel-  
ligence by my letters of the present  
stat of things here, and what vve  
may of likelihod looke for, to come: for I am sure  
both for your common care of vsal, & special loue  
to me, you long to know what I doe, what hope  
I haue, how I proccede. Of other things that fel  
before, I wrote from S. Omers, what haue sithence  
happened, now I wil briefly recompt vnto you.

It fel out, as I conster it, by Gods special proui-  
sion, that tarying for wind four daies together, I  
should at length take sea the fifth day in the eue-  
ning, which was the feast of S. Iohn Baptist my  
peculiare patrone, to whome I had often before  
commended my cause and iourney. So we arriued  
safely at Douer the morovv folovving very early,  
my litle man and I together. There vve were at the  
very point to be taken, being by commaundement  
brought before the Maior of the tovyne, who con-  
iectured many things, suspected vs to be such as in  
deede

Litle Raph.

deede we were, aduersaries of the new heretical faction, fauourers of the old fathers faith, that vve dissembled our names, had ben abroad for religio, and returned againe to spread the same. One thing he especially vrged, that I was *Allen* which I denied, profering my othe, if neede were for the verifying thereof.

At length he resolueth (and that so it should be he often repeated) that with some to garde me I should be sent to the Counsel. Neither can I tel who altered his determination, sauing God to whom vnderhand I then humbly praied, vsing *S. Iohns* intercession also, by whose happy helpe I safely came so farre. Sodenly commeth forth an old man, God giue him grace for his labour. Vvel (quoth he) it is agreed you shal be dismissed, fare you wel. And so vve to goe apase. The which things considered and the like that dailie befall vnto me, I am verely perswaded, that one day I shal be apprehended: but that, then, when it shal most pertaine to Gods glorie, and not before.

Vvell, I came to London, and my good Angel guided me vnnvitting into the same hovvse that had harboured *F. Robert* before. Vvthither yong Gétlemen came to me, one euery hand, they embrace me, reapparrel me, furnish me, weapon me, and conuey me out of the citie. I ride about some peece of the countrey euery day. The hartest is wonderful great. On horse backe I meditate my sermon, when I come to the hovvse I polish it. Then I talke with such as come to speake with me, or heare their confessions. In the morning after Masse I preach. They heare with exceding greedines, & very often receiue the Sacraments.

For the ministration whereof we are euer wel assisted by Priests whom vve find in euery place, whereby both the people is vvel serued and vve much eased in our charge. The Priests of our country

they them selues being excellent for vertue & learning, yet haue raised so great an opinion of our society, that I dare scarce touch the exceeding reuerence al catholikes doe vnto vs. How much more is it requisite, that such as hereafter are to be sent for supplie, whereof vve haue grete neede, be such as may ansvvere al mens expectation of them. Specially let them be vvel trained for the pulpit. I can not long escape the handes of the Heretikes, the enemies haue so many eies, so many tonges, so many scoutes and crafts.

I am in apparell to my self very ridiculous, I often change it and my name also. I reade letters sometimes my self that in the first front tell neeves, *That Campion is taken.* Vvhich noised in euery place vvhether I come, so filleth mine eares with the sound thereof, that feare it self at taken avay all feare. *My soule is in my owne handes euer.* Let such as you send for supplie premeditate and make count of this alwayes.

Mary the solaces that are euer intermedled with these miseries are so great, that they do not only counteruaile the feare of vvhether punishment temporal soeuer, but by infinite sweetenes, make all worldly paines be they neuer so great seeme nothing. A conscience pure, a courage inuincible, zeale incredible, a worke so worthy, the number innumerable, of high degree, of meane calling, of the inferiour sorte, of euery age and sexe. Here euen amongst the Protestants them selues that are of mylder nature it is touned into a proverb, that he must be a Catholike that paith faithfully that he oweth, in so much that if any catholike do iniurie, euery body expostulateth with him as for an act vnvorthie of men of that calling.

To be short, Heresie heareth ill of all men: neither is there any condition of people commonly coumpted more vile & impure then their Ministers.

And

And we worthely haue indignation, that fellowes  
so vnlearned, so euil, so derided, so base, should  
in so desperate a quarel ouerrule such a number of  
noble wittes as our Realme hath.

Threatening edicts come forth against vs daily,  
notwithstanding by good heede, and the prayers  
of good men, & which is the cheefe of all, by Gods  
special gift, we haue passed safely through the most  
part of the lland. I find many neglecting their  
ovvne securitie, to haue only care of my fastie. A  
certine matter fel out these daies by Gods appoin-  
tement vnlooked for.

I had set downe in vvriting by seuerall articles  
the causes of my comming in, and made certaine  
demaundes most reasonable. I professed my self to  
be a Priest of the societie, that I retourned to en-  
large the Catholike faith, to teach the Gospel, to  
minister the Sacraments, humbly asking audience  
of the Queene & the nobility of the Realme, & pro-  
ffering disputatiōs to the aduersaries. One copie  
of this vvriting I determined to keepe with me:  
that if I should fal into the officers hands it might  
goe with me: an other copie I laide in a frendes  
hand, that when my self with thother should be  
seazed on, thother might therevpon streight be  
dispersed.

But my said frend kept it not close longe but  
divulged it, and it vvas redd greedely, whereat the  
aduersaries vvere mad, ansvvering out of their  
pulpits, that them selues certes would not refuse  
to dispute but the Queenes pleasure was not, that  
matters should be called to question, being already  
established. In the meane while they teare and  
stinge vs with their venemous tonges, callinge vs  
feditious, hypocrites, yea, heretikes too, which is  
much laughed at. The people herevpon is ours, and  
that error of spreadinge abroad this vvritting,  
hath much aduanced the cause. Yf we be com-  
maunded

maunded and may haue safe conduct, we vwill into  
the courte.

But they meane nothing lesse, for they haue  
filled all the old prisons with Catholikes, and  
nowv make newv, and in fine plainly affirme, that  
it were better to make a fewv traitors avway, then  
so many soules should be lost.

Of their martyrs they bragge no more nowv,  
for it is nowv come to passe, that for a fewv aposta-  
tats and coblers of theirs burned, we haue Bishops,  
Lords, kinghtes, the old nobility, paterns of lear-  
ning pietie and prudence, the flowre of the youth,  
noble matrones, and of the inferiour sorte innu-  
merable, either martyred at once, or by consuming  
prisonement dyinge daily. At the very vvriting  
hereof the persecution rageth most cruelly, the  
house where I am is fadd: no other talke, but of  
death, flight, prison, or spoile of their frendes.  
Neuertheles they proceede with courage.

Very many euen at this present being restored  
to the Church, newv souldiars geue vp their names,  
whiles the old offer vp their blood. By which  
holy hostes and oblations, God will be pleased:  
and we shall no question, by him ouercome.

You see nowv therefore Reuerend Father, how  
much neede we haue of your praiers and sacrifices,  
and other heauenly helpe to goe through vvith  
these thinges. There vvill neuer want in England  
men that will haue care of their ovvne saluation,  
nor such as shal aduaunce other mens. Neither  
shall this Church here euer faile, so long as Priestes  
and pastors shal be found for the sheepe: rage man  
or deuil neuer so much. But the rumor of present  
perill causeth me here to make an end. *Arise God,  
his enemies auoide.* Fare you vvell.

Ed. Camp.

M. RAPH. SHERWINE PRIEST,  
AND MASTER OF ARTS.

M. Sherwins  
spiritual ex-  
ercises.

**F**ATHER *Campion* hauing so glori-  
ously triumphed ouer the world the  
flesh the diuel, and Heresie, and had  
receiued his long desired crowne:  
M. Raph Sherrvine a godly, wise, discret,  
and lerned priest, was brought into the carte, a man  
so mortified, so feebled vvith fasting, vvatching, and  
such other spiritual exercises, as vvvas wonder ful  
vnto such, vvho had conuerled with him before  
his emprisonment.

His behavi-  
our in the  
carte.

He standing vpon the carte, vvith closed eyes,  
vvith handes lifted vp to heauen in contemplation  
and praier, al men marking his demeanur, vvith  
milde voice first made this demaund: *Doth the people  
expect that I should speake?* Being answered of many  
and some of nobilitie, yea, yea, vvith stoute courage  
and strong voice he said.

Then first, I thanke the omnipotent and most  
merciful God the Father, for my creation: my  
sweete and louing Sauour CHRIST IESVS, for  
my redemption: and the holy Ghost, for my sancti-  
fication: three persons and one God.

After this thanks geuing vnto the holy and  
blessed Trinitie, entring into the discourse of his  
faith, his condemnation and death, vvvas interrupted  
and staied by Sir Frauncis Knowles and the Sherifes,  
saying: you haue declared your faith, and vve know  
it, come to the point, and confesse your treason &  
disloyaultie tovvards your Prince.

INNOCENT  
CIE.

Vvherevpon he constantly said, *I am innocent  
and guiltles.* And being stil vrged, answered, *I vvill  
not belie my self, for so should I condemne my owne soule.*  
And although I haue confusion in this vvorld, yet I  
doubt not of my saluation in CHRIST IESVS,  
in vvhom only I looke to be saued, and in vvwhose  
death

death, Passion, and blood I only trust: and so made a sweete praier to I E S V S acknowledging the imperfection, miserie, and sinful vvretchednes of his ovvne nature, stil protesting his Innocencie from al Treasons and traiterous practises, & that his going out of this Realme beyond the seas, vvas only for his soules health, to learne to saue his soule.

The cause of his going beyond the seas.

And being againe interrupted by Sir Frauncis Knowles he answered in this vvise, *Tush, tush, you and I shal ansvvere this before an other Iudge, vvhere my innocencie shalbe knowven, and you see that I am guiltles of this.* Vvherevpon Sir Frauncis said, vve knowve you are no contriuer or doer of this treason, for you are no man of armes, but you are a traitor by consequence.

By consequence quoth he?

But M. Shervvine boldly answered, *If to be a CATHOLIKE onely, is to be a perfect Catholike, be to be a traitor, then am I a traitor.* After vvich vvordes being by authoritie debarred of further speach, he said, *I forgeue al, vvho either by general presumption, or particular error haue procured my death, and so deuoutely praied vnto I E S V S: after vvich praier he vvas vvrged to speak his opinion touching P O P E P I N S his Bul. to vvich point he gaue no ansvvere.*

His charitie.

They batie this Bul vvonderfully.

Then being vvilled to pray for the Q M. he answered, *I haue, and do.* at vvich vvordes the L. Horvard againe asked, vvich Q. he meant, vvether Elizabeth Queene? to vvhom somewhat smiling he said, *Yea for Elizabeth Queene, I norve at this instant pray my Lord God to make her his seruant in this life, and after this life coheir vvith CHRIST I E S V S.*

He smileth as their folie.

Vvhen he had thus praied, there vvere there, vvich said openly, that he ment, to make her a Papist, to vvhom he boldly replied, *El God forbid.* And so collecting him selfe to praier, died paciently, constantly, and mildely, crying, *I E S V S, I E S V S, I E S V S, esto mihi I E S V S.*

A hainous treason, to vvish the Q. saluation.

Thus this blessed man was deliuered of this corrup

He vvas *Senior* in the  
ac.

And skilful  
in the *tōges*.

Left the vni-  
uersitie.

Vvent to  
Dorvay.

Vvas made  
Priest.

He vvent to  
Rome.

A motion  
made to the  
Pope, of a  
*Suffragane*  
for Englad.

Great lacke  
of *Confirma-  
tion*.

suonist A  
or, no laen  
to the  
moult

ruptible body. of vvwhose life I thought good to  
set downe some fevv lines also. He vvas a Master  
of arte, and so vvell learned, that he vvas *Senior* of his  
act or commencement, vvwhich is a schole charge of  
honor, and done by him in the presence of the  
*Earle of Leicester*, and diuers other of the nobilitie  
that came from the court, then lying at *Vrodstocke*,  
to their great liking and his commendation. He  
vvas also very skilful in the three tonges. And  
leaving the Vniuersitie, and the condition he had in  
his colledg, for cōscience sake, vvent ouer to *Dorvay*  
to the Seminarie that vvas then there: and after  
some yeres study in Diuinitie vvas made Priest the  
xxij of March the yere M. D. lxxvij. together with  
*M. Lawrence Iohnson*, that vvas martyred vnder the  
name of *Richardson*, and the ij. of August the same  
yere, he vvas sent to Rome in cōpany vvith *M. Rish-  
ton* vvho vvas cōdemned vvith him also, vvhere he  
studied in the Seminarie, til the yere M. D. LXXX.  
at vvhat time he returned homevvard, and came  
to Remes vvhere he staid certaine daies after his  
fellovvves ( vvho then by diuers vvayes and portes  
vvwere entered into the Realme ) vvpon this occasion.

There vvas not long before special sute made  
to his Holines, that as vve had of priests to al spiri-  
tual purposes good store for our countrey, so vve  
might haue at least one *Suffragane* or Bishop to  
supplie diuers necessarie functions that could not  
be done by the inferior cleargie, as amongst other  
things the sacrament of Cōfirmation, vvwhich being  
specially ordained of our Sauour to geue strength  
and constancie to stand in defence of the faith in  
such times of persecution as this is, vvas much ne-  
cessarie for our countrey, and could not be had, by  
reason al our true Bishops vvwere either dead in  
prison, or so restrained that they could not exercise  
that, or other their holy Ministeries.

The

The Pope though he deliberated therevpon  
some daies, yet in the end vpon very many vwise  
considerations, and specially for that he would not  
haue any of that high calling to fall into the hands  
of the ennemy, not doubting but that they would  
use such an one as barbarously, as any other Priest or  
Catholike, did not thinke it good at that time to  
create any such.

Causes vvhy  
the Pope  
would not  
graunt it.

But aftervvard the right Reuerend in God *Thomas Goldwell Bishop of S. Asaph*, a most Venerable  
and auncient Confessor, that hath suffered banish-  
ment for his conscience halfe his life, though he be  
vvell nere lxxx yerres of age, hearing the maruelous  
zeale of so many Godly Priests, and their heroical  
endeuours for the saluation of their countrey, vvvas  
sturred in spirit, and much desired to end the rem-  
nant of his old yerres in the seruice of his coun-  
trei, & vvvent to his Holines to desire his leaue and  
benediction in that behalfe: and with much adoe,  
for that great respect was had of his dignitie and  
old age, it vvvas graunted him.

The cause  
vvhy the  
Bishop of  
S. Asaph  
came out of  
Italy.

Vvherevpon the old honorable Father aduen-  
tured dovvne as farr as Rhemes in al the heate,  
where he gaue to the Seminarie the greatest com-  
fort, and the same yelded to him al the contente-  
ment in the vvorld: Consulting there how to gaine  
our countrey to saluation by any office of life, or  
by glad suffering of death it self.

Vvwhich meeting, and specially that old and  
Reuerend Confessors comming dovvne for En-  
gland as they al deemed, put maruelous concepts  
into the Counsels heads, that there was some great  
and new attempt or inuasion tovvard: for vvorld-  
ly men standing only at the vvatch of the temporal  
state, could not imagine that for gaining of a soule  
or tivo, or for conuersion of a kingdom either,  
such men would be so diliget and venturous as to  
come vpon their pickes and roopes vvithout some  
f world

How  
vvhat the  
Counsel  
imagined of his,  
and others  
comming  
dovvne.

The cause of  
the Bishops  
stay and re-  
turne.

Now it so chanced by Gods prouidence, that the said Lord of *S. Assaph* for other causes and specially for that he fel into a very dangerous ague with the contagious cough which then raigne in Rhemes, he could not passe on in his iorney so spedely as other of the Societie and Priests did, and therefore for his more honor & comfort some other & specially this man of God, *M. Shervine* offered to tarie with his Lordship during his sickness, and then vwhen God should send him strength to be one of his chapliens and conductors into his countrey, but it vvas resolved at length that for the vncertentie of his recouery, *M. Shervine* should passe forvvard tovvard Roan, and there rather to expect him as he did.

But the good Father now much weakened by his sickness, and othervvise not vvell appointed, nor in deed fit for to take the paines, nor any waies by reason of his markeable person, very great age and feeblenes, long like to escape the persecutors hands, was in fine altered from that purpose, and after his recouery he thought good, rather to retorne into Italic againe, as he did.

His apprehension.

How he vvas vsed in prison.

A motion of disputations.

And *M. Shervine* vvent forvvard tovvards England, vvhere after his arriuall he occupied him self in al functions belonging to Priesthod, vvith great zeale and charitie, and sone after he vvastaken in *M. Roscarokes* chamber in London, and committed to the Marshalsey, vvhere he lay night and day in a great paire of shakles for the space of a moneth.

In Nouember after his emprisonement, there came vvord from the *Knight Marshal* to the keeper of the Marshalsey, to vnderstand of him, vvwhether there vv ere any Papists in his prison that durst or vvould maintaine their cause by disputation, and if there vv ere any such, that then they should send him

him such questions as they would defend, subscribed vwith their handes, and make them ready to dispute, for they should vnderstand from him thorowly, of the maner, time and place, how and vwhere to dispute.

This motion vvas so vvell liked of the Catholikes, that this *M. Sherrvine* and two other Priests that vvere condemned vwith him aftervvard, *M. Harp* & *M. Bosgrave* offered them selues to the combat, drew out questions, subscribed their names, and sent them to the said: *K. Marshal*. But their questions pleasing him not, they do accept and allowe of other questions sent vnto them from the said *K. Marshal*, and do expect with ioyful minde the day appointed to dispute.

But loe, euen the day before they should haue disputed, *M. Sherrvine* was removed to the Towver, vwhere he vvvas at sundrie & several times examined and racked.

In his first racking he was asked vwhere *F. Campion* and *F. Parsons* vvere, vvhy he and they came ouer into England, vvhat acquaintance he had here in England, vvwhether he had said *Mass* in *M. Roskars* chamber, and vvwhether he had of him at any time money. He was close prisoner almost a whole yere, in which time he had diuers conferences vvith Ministers both priuately, and in some open audience both of honorable and worshipful, to the honor of God, the benefit of his afflicted Church, and to the admiration of most of the hearers. He vvvas after his first racking, fet out in a great snow, and laid vpon the racke, and the Gentilman in whose chamber he was taken, was kept in a byedarck corner, to heare his pitiful grones and complaints.

On Midfomer-day in the yere 1581, he vvvas called before the Lieutenat (as likewise al his fellow prisoners vvere) vvho demaunded of him by com-

Accepted by  
the Catholikes

He is removed to the  
Towver.

His racking  
and the interrogatories.

His conferences vvith  
the ministers  
did much  
good.

Great cruelty.

He vvvas delc  
vvith al to  
goe to the

ecclesiastical  
Church.

The reason  
as then not  
hatched.

Euen the  
Protestants  
did admire  
his vertues.

His notable  
speech to F.  
Campion.

The very  
Ministers  
iudge him  
Innocent.

mission from the Counsel, whether he would goe  
go their heretical service, vho refusing, the Lieu-  
tenant told him the danger of a late statute made in  
that behalfe, and that farther he should be endited  
vpon that statute with in ij or iij daies, so that at  
that time as it should seeme, they had no such mat-  
ter to lay against him as after vvas pretended, for it  
vvas not as then, thoroughly hatched.

The order of his life in his spare diet, his conti-  
nual praier and meditation, his long vwatching  
vwith ofte & sharpe discipline vsed vpon his body  
caused great admiration to his keeper, who would  
alwayes call him *a man of God*, and the best and de-  
uoutest Priest that euer he saw in his life.

Vhen he came out of the Lieutenants hal (vwith  
other of his fellowes, tyvo daies or there about  
before he vvas Martyred, hauing talked vwith a Mi-  
nister, vwho was neuer so holden vp to the vval in  
his life, by report of such as stode by) he yttred  
these vvordes, *Ab F. Campion, I shal be shortly aboue  
yonder fellow*, pointing to the sunne, vwith such a  
courage, that some said he vvas the resoluest man  
that euer they saw.

He vvil neuer be forgotten in the Towver, for  
some vvords which he spake when he vvas ready  
to goe to execution, attending F. Campion, vwho  
was lodged further of, *Charke* the Minister can best  
report them, vwho stode harde by him. Some of  
*Charles* fellow Ministers said, those vvordes could  
not come from a guiltie conscience.

### THE COPIE OF A LETTER WRITTEN

out of the Towver by M. Sharvigne to his  
frendes iij or iij of the latter  
lines are vvaning.

BEING

**B**EING wearie of vvel doing, and yet  
desirous not to do nothing (my deare  
companions) I chose rather by vvit-  
ting vnto you to performe my duetie  
then otherwise to recreate my head  
vvith cogitations lesse necessarie.

Your liberalitie I haue received, and disposed  
thereof to my great contentation, when hereafter  
at the pleasure of God vve shal meet in heauen, I  
trust you shalbe repaid *Cum senore*. Delay of our  
death doth somevwhat dull me, it vvas not vvith-  
out cause that our Maister him telfe said, *Quod facis  
fac esto*.

Truth it is I hoped ere this, casting of this  
body of death, to haue kissed the pretious glorified  
yvoundes of my svete Sauour, sitting in the  
throne of his fathers ovne glorie. Which desire as  
I trust descending from aboue, hath so quieted my  
minde, that since the iudicial sentence proceded  
against vs, neither the sharpnes of the death hath  
much terrified me, nor the shortnes of life much  
troubled me.

My sinnes are great I confesse, but I flee to Gods  
mercie: my negligences are vvithout number I  
graunt, but I appeale to my redeemers clemencie.  
I haue no bouldnes but in his bloud, his bitter  
passion is my only consolation. It is comfortable  
that the Prophet hath recorded, which is, that *he  
hath vvritten vs in his bandes*. Oh that he would  
vouchsasse to vvrit him self in our harts, hovv  
ioyful should we then appeare before the tribunal  
seat of his Fathers glorie: the dignitie whereof  
vvhen I thinke, my flesh quaketh, not sustaining  
by reason of mortal infirmitie the presence of my  
creators Maiestie.

Our Lord perfect vs to that ende vvherevnto  
we vvcre created, that leauing this world, vve may  
liue in him, and of him, vvorld without ende. It is

thought that upon Munday or Tervyday next we  
shal be passible, God graunt vshumilitie, that we  
following his footsteps may obtaine the victo-  
rie.

AN OTHER LETTER VWRITTEN BY

him the day before his Martyrdom, to his vncle

M. John Vyndward, a venerable Priest,

abiding at Roan.

*Absit vngloria nisi in CANCE Domini*

*I. H. V. CHRISTI &c.*



Y dearest vncle, after many conflicts  
and worldly corrasies, mixed with  
spiritual consolations, and Christian  
comfortes, it hath pleased God of his  
vnspeakable mercie to cal me out of  
this vale of miserie. To him therefor for al his be-  
nefits at al times and for ever, be al praise and  
glorie.

Your tender care plyvaies had ouer me, and  
cost bestovved on me, I trust in heauen shal be  
revwarded. My prayers you haue stil had, and that  
vyas but duerie, other tokens of a grateful minde I  
could not shew, by reason of my restrained ne-  
cessitie.

This very morning, vvhich is the festiual day  
of S. Andrevv, I vyas aduertised by superior autho-  
ritie, that to morovv I was to ende the course of  
this life, God graunt I may do it, to the imitation  
of this noble Apostle and seruant of God, and that  
with ioy I may say rising of the herdle: *Salve sancta*  
*CRUX &c.*

Innocencie is my only comfort, against al the  
forged villanie which is fathred on my fellowv  
Priests and me. Vvel when by the high Iudge God  
him self this false visard of treason shal be remo-  
ued from true Catholike mens faces, then shal it  
appare

85  
appeare vwho they be that carry a vvel meaning,  
and who an euil murdering minde, in the meane  
season God forgeue al iniustice, and if it be his  
blessed vvil to conuert our persecutors, that they  
may become professors of his truth.

Praiers for my soule procure for me my louing  
patrone, and so hauing great neede to prepare my  
self for God, neuer quieter in minde, nor lesse  
troubled tovvards God, bynding al my iniquities  
vp in his precious woundes, I bid you fare vvel,  
yea and once againe the louingest vnckle that euer  
kinsman had in this vvorld, fare wel.

God graunt vs both his grace and blessing vntil  
the ende, that liuing in his feare, and dying in his  
faour, vve may enioy one the other for euer. And  
so my good old Iohn fare wel. Salute al my fel-  
low Catholikes, and so without farther troubling  
of you, my sweetest benefactor, farevvel. On St  
Andrewes day. 1581.

Your cosen,

*Raph Shervvill*

*Priest.*

*M. Alexander Brian Priest,  
and graduat.*

**A**FTER these tvvo glorious martyrs,  
vvas brought vnto his Martyrdome  
*M. Alexander Brian*, a man not vnler-  
ned, of a very sweet grace in prea-  
ching, but of passing zeale, patience,  
constancie and humilitie, of whose pressures in  
prison and tortures (strange I dare say among hea-  
thens, more monstrous among Christians) I vvill  
speake a none.

Being in the carte prepared to death, he begane  
first to declare his bringing vp in the Catholike  
faith and religion, his being in *Oxford*, vpon which

f iiij

word

*M. Brians  
rare giftes.*

I WNOCE-  
CIE.

word he was staide by one saying: what haue vve to do with Oxford? come to the purpose, and confesse thy treason. Vwherevpon he answered, I am not guilty of any such death, I vvas neuer at Rome, nor then at Remes, vwhen D. Saunders came into Ireland. To this ende he spake and protested, as he would ansvvere before God.

This Bul is  
still remued.

He spake not much, but where as he was vrged more then the other to speake vwhat he thought of the said Bul of *Pius quintus*, he said he did beleue of it as al Catholikes and the Catholike faith doth, and therevpon protesting him selfe to die a true Catholike, as he was saying *Miserere mei Deus*, was deliuered of the carte vwith more paine by negligence of the hangman then either of the other, who after his beheading, him selfe dismembred, his hart, bowels, and intrailles burned, to the great admiration of some, being laid vpon the blocke his belly dovvnevard, lifted vp his whole body then remayning from the ground: and this I adde vpon report of others, not mine ovvne sight.

Of this mans life vve wil not speake, though it vvas alwaies for al vertue & grace most spectable, but adde onely a fevv wordes of the things that he endured for his faith in the time of his imprisonment.

He is taken  
and his chamber  
rifled.

About the 28. of April he was apprehended in his chamber at midnight by Norton, his chamber rifled, three poundes of money taken from him (for that is a principal verbe in al apprehensions of Catholikes) his apparel and other things, especially a trunke vwherein was a siluer Chalice, & much other good stufte, which vvas not his, but committed to his custodie taken avway also, and he sent close prisoner to the Counter, with commaundement to stay al that asked for him, & that he should haue neither meat nor drinke, who in such order continued vntil he was al most famished.

He vvas al-  
most fa-  
mished.

In

He was  
in the  
of the  
house

In fine by frendship or what meanes, I know  
not, he gott a peny vworth of hard cheese, and a  
litle broken bread, with a pinte of strong beare,  
which brought him into such an extreme thirst,  
that he assaied to take with his hatte the dropps of  
raime from the house eeyes, but could not reach  
them.

The morrow after the Ascension day he vvas  
remoued to the Tower, vwhere he verely thought  
he should have been vtterly famished, & therefore  
caried vyth him a litle peece of his hard cheese,  
vvhich his keeper in searching him found about  
him, but M Brian humblie entreated his keeper  
to take it from him. His ordinarie allowvance in  
drinke, vvhich vvas at euery meale a potel-pot ful,  
could not for a great vvhile suffice him, such vvas  
his exceeding thirst.

He is remo-  
ued to the  
Tower.  
His feare  
of famine  
there.

Vvithin two daies after his comming to the  
Tower, he vvas brought before the Lieutenant, M.  
D. Hammon, and Norton, vvhoe examined him after  
their common maner, first in tendering an othe to  
answere to al & c. And because he vwould not  
confesse vwhere he had scene F. Parsons, howv he  
was mateined, vwhere he had said Masse, and whose  
confessions he had hard: they caused needles to be  
thrust vnder his nailes, vwhereat M. Brian vvas not  
moued at al, but vwith a constant minde abd plesant  
countenance said the Psalme Miserere, desiring God  
to forgue his tormentors. Vwhereat D. Hammon  
stampt and stared, as a man half beside him selfe,  
saying, Vwhat a thing is this, if a man vvere not set-  
led in his religion; this vvere inough to conuert  
him.

His exami-  
nation.

A cruel kind  
of tormet.

He vvas even to the dismembriing of his body  
rent and torne vpon the rack, because he vwould not  
cofesse vwhere F. Parsons was, vwhere the print was,  
& vvhath bookes he had sould, and so vvas returned  
to his lodging for that time.

He vvas pi-  
tifully rae-  
ked.

Yet

His racked  
againē al-  
most to  
death.

Yet the next day following notwithstanding the great distemperature and sorenes of his vvhole body, his senses being dead, and his blood congealed (for this is the effect of racking) he was brought to the torture againe, and there stretched with greater seueritie then before (supposing vvith him self, that they vvould plucke him in peeces, and to his thinking there vvvas a vaine broken in his hand, and that blood isshued out there a pase) he put on the armor of patience, resolving to dye, rather then to hurt any creature living, and having his minde raised in cōtemplation of Christs bitter PASSION, he founded, that they vvwere faine to sprinkle cold vvater on his face to reuine him againe, yet they released no part of his paine.

The P O P E,  
not the  
*Queene*, is  
head of the  
Church.

And here Norton, because they could get nothing of him, asked him, vvwhether the Queene vvwere supreme head of the Church of England or not, to this he said, *I am a Catholike, and I beleue in this as a Catholike should do.* Vvhy said Norton, They say the P O P E is. And so say I, answered M. Brian.

So vvvas  
CHRIST,  
and S. Paul  
vvled, by the  
like men.

Here also the Lieutenant vvled railing and reuiling vvords, and bodd him vvnder the chinne, and flapt him on the cheekes after an vvcharitable manner. And al the commissioners rose vp and vvvent their vvay, geuing commaundement to leaue him so al night, at vvwhich vvhen they savv he vvvas nothing moued, they vvilled he should be taken from the torment, and sent him againe to Vvalesboure, vvhere not able to moue hand nor fote or any part of his body, he lay in his clothes xv. daies together vvwithout bedding in great paine and anguish.

This is a ter-  
rible Don-  
geon.

He vvvas  
not affa-  
med of his  
Masters Bad-  
ge.

Vvhen he vvvent to vvestminster hal to be condemned, he made a Crosse, of such vvodd as he could gett, vvwhich he caried vvith him openly, he made shifte also to shauē his crowne, because he vvould signifie to the prating Ministers, (vvwhich scoffed and mocked him at his apprehension, saying that

that he vvas ashamed of his vocation) that he was not ashamed of his holy orders., nor yet that he would blush at his religion. When he vvas condemned, yrons were bound vpon him, and the rest, as fone as they came home to the Towver, and they vvere neuer taken of, til they vvere fetch furth to be martyred.

These torments and the mans constantie are comparable truly to the old strange sufferings of the renommed Martyrs of the primative Church in the daies of Nero, Decius and Diocletian, which he could neuer haue borne by humane strenght, if God had not geuen his singular and supernatural grace. Him self confessed that by a vovv he made and other special exercises, he had great cōsolation in al these vexations, whereof I wil set dovvne his ovvne vvordes in an Epistle that he vvrot to the Fathers of the Societie in England.

**Y**ET novv, sith I am by the appoyntment of God deprived of libertie, so as I can not any longer employe my selfe in this profitable exercise: my desire is esones reulued, my spirit vvaxeth fervent hote, & at the last I have made a vovv and promise to God, not rashly (as I hope) but in the fease of God, not to any other ende, then that I might thereby more deuoutly, and more acceptably serue God, to my more certain saluation, and to a more gloriouse triumphe over my ghooztlie enemy. I have made a vovv (I say) that vvhen so ever it shal please God to deliuer me (so that once, as the lenght it like him) I vvill vvith in one yere then next folowving, assigne my selfe vvholly to the fathers of the societie, and that (Yf God inspire their harts to admaire me) I vvill gladly, and vvith exceding great ioye throwly, and from the bottom of my hart geue up and surrender all my vvill to the service of God, and in all obedience vnder them.

This vovv vvas to me a passing great ioye, and consolation, in the myddes of all my distresses, and tribulations. And therefore, vvith greater hope to obtēn fortitude and patience, I drevv neare to the throne of his diuine maiestie, vvith the assistance of the blessed and perpetual virgin MARYE, and of all the Saincts. And I hope verily this came of God, for I did it euen in the time of praier, vvhen me thought, my minde was sealed vpon heavenly things. For thus it vvas.

The same day that I vvas first tormented on the rack, before

fore I came to the place, giving my mind to prayer, and commending my selfe and all mine to oure Lorde, I vvas replenished, and filled vp vvith a kinde of supernaturall syverenesse of spirit. And euen vvhile I vvas calling vpon the moste holle name of I. e. s. u. s., and vpon the blessed virgin M. A. R. I. A. (for I vvas in saying the Rosarie) my mind vvas cheerefully disposed, vvell comforted, and readily prepared and bent, to suffer and endure those tormentes vvhich euen then I moste certainly looked for. At the length my former purpose came into my minde, and there vvith all a thought coincidently fell vpon me to ratifie that novv by vowe, vvhich before I had determined, Vvhan I had ended my prayers: I reuolued these things in my minde deeply: and vvith reason (as vvell as I could) I did debate and discusse them thorovvly: I iudge it good, and expedient for me: I accomplished my desire: I put forth my vow and promise freely and boldly, vvith the condition afore saide.

Vvwhich after, (me thinketh) God him self did approve and allow by and by. For in all my afflictions and tormentes, he of his infinite goodnesse, mercifully and tenderly, did stand by and assiste me, comforting me in my trouble and necessitie. Delucting my soule from vvicked lipps, from the deceitful tongue, and from the sorrowing lyons, then readie gaping for their pray.

Vvwhether this that I vvill say, be miraculous or no, God he knoweth but true it is, and thereof my conscience is a witness before God. And this I say: that in the end of the torture through my handes and feete vvere violently stretched and racked, & my adversaries fulfilled their vvicked lust, in practisinge their cruell tyranny vpon my body. yet notwithstanding I vvas vvithout sense and feeling Well nigh of all greefe, and paines and not so only, but as it vvore comforted, eased and refreshed of the greeves of the torture by past, I continued still vvith perfect and present senses, in quietnes of hart, and tranquillitie of mind. Vvwhich thing vvhen the commissioners did see, they departed, and in going forth of the doore, they gaue order to rack me againe the next day folovving, after the same sorte. Nowv vvhen I hearde them say so: It gaue me in my mind by and by and I did vercly belecue and trust, that vvith the help of God, I should be able to beare and suffer it patiently. In the mean time (as vvell as I could) I did muse and meditate vpon the moste bitter passion of oure Sauoure, and how full of innumerable paines it was. And vvhiles I vvasthus occupied; me thought, that my left hand was vvounded in the palme, and that I felt the blood runne out, but in very deede there vvore no such thing, nor any other paine then that, vvhich seemed to be in my hand.

Novv then, that my sute and request may be Well knowne vnto yovv: for so much as I am oute of hope, in short time to

recouer

91  
reouer and recouere my former libertie, so as I might personally  
speake vnto you. And whether happely I shal once at length  
speake vnto you in this world, no more all man doeth know.  
In the meane season I humbly submit my selfe vnto you, and  
(suppliantly kneeling) I beseech you, to doe and dispose for  
me, and of me, as shall seeme good to your wisdom. And  
With an humble mind moste hartlie I craue, that (if it may be  
in my absens) it would please you to admit me into your So-  
cietie, and to register and introle me among you: that so with  
humble men I may haue a sense and feeling of humilitie, with  
deuout men I may sounde out a loude, the lauds and praises  
of God, & continually render thanks to him, for his benefits;  
and then after being aided by the prayers of many, I may runne  
more safely to the mark which I shoothe at, and without  
perill attaine to the price that is promised.

And I am not ignorant that the snares and wiles of oure  
ancient enemy are infinite: for he is the sly serpent, which  
lieth in the shadow of woods, winding, whirling, and tur-  
ning aboute many waies: and with his viles and subtilties he  
attempteth maruelously to delude and abuse the soules of  
the simple which want a faithfull guide: in so much, as it is  
not without cause, that we are admonished to trie the spirits,  
if they be of God. To you therefore, because you are spirituall,  
and accustomed to this kinde of conflict, I commend all this  
business: beseeching you even by the bowels of Gods mercy  
that you would vouchsafe to direct me with your counsaile  
and wisdom. And if in your sight it seme profitable, for  
more honor to God, more commoditie to his Church, and  
eternall saluation to my soule, that I be preferred to that So-  
cietie of the most holie name of Iesus: then presently be-  
fore God, and in the court of my conscience, I do promise o-  
bedience, to all and singular Rectors, and gouernours establi-  
shed all redie, or to be hereafter established, and likewise to  
all rules, or lawes receiued in this Societie, to the vttermoste of  
my power, and so farre as God doth geue me grace: God is my  
witnesse, and this my owne hand writing shalbe a testimo-  
nie hereof in the day of Iudgement. As for the health of my  
body, you haue no cause to doubt, for now well nere I haue  
recovered my former strength and hardnesse. By Gods help, &  
I wax euery day stronger than other. Thus in all other things  
commending my selfe to your prayers, I bid you farevell in  
oure Lorde, carefully expecting what you thinke good to  
determine of me, I  
Vale.

An

An old fellow of F. Compton's would needs falsifie his deuotion towards him in these verses, vy which came to my hand after his life vvas printed, and therefore I vvas forced to put them somevvhat out of place.



**S**anctae est, vna etiam se meminisse tua.

Nous te Oxoni puerum puer facer imago

Primus tui, cordi non abolenda mecum

Doctus eras, facundus eras, gratissimus vnus

Omnibus, ob mores ingeniumque tuum.

Per quoscunque gradus ire, seu laurea laurea,

Sine Magisterio delectaret honor, v

Primus eras, princepsque gregis, cessere priores

Partes & palmam caetera turba tibi.

Post ubi maturis pennis prouectior annis,

Procurator eras hic honor amplius erat.

Matorum interex prudens, prius, atque peritus

Nobilium doctor, Caetera quid memorem?

Omnis pro Christo, reputas quicquid feceris, nunc

Scandis, & angustas transis ex utraque

Moxque Duacena consistis in orbe, Romoque

Anglorum, cuius Praeses, Alanus erat.

Totus es in studiis sacris, quorum anteas semper

Pene tibi pueri miris intulit amor.

Timotheo simulis didicisti valde adolescens

Qua perituna forent non aliquando bonis

Accessit sacris studiis sacer & gradus illam

Sacra Duacena iura dedere schola.

Pergis & ascendis caelestia versus, bonores

Nec peris humanas, amplius, alta magis

Et diuina peris. Domus est celeberrima, Iesv

Nomine dicta, illi te sociare cupis.

Is Romam: factus socius de nomine Iesv,

Iussus es Arctos mox peragrarare plagas.

Bruna tibi primum, post est habitata Vienna,

Tertia

Tertia postremo mansio magna fuit.  
 Hic tibi creuit honor, creuit nomenque decusque.  
 Famaque Tentonico grandis in orbe tua est.  
 Multa doces, scribis, loqueris. Rectore iubente,  
 Omnia tam facile, quam iubet ille, facis.  
 Sive perorares rhetor, facundia qualis  
 Seu metra conficeres, quæ meliora dedisti.  
 AMBROSIA est testis, sic dicta tragædia, cuius  
 Applausum, incessu tota theatra remor.  
 Sed tamen excellens inter tuas alia multa,  
 Festo quoque die Sermo latinus eras.  
 Obstupera homines docti, quæ maxima turba  
 Adfuit, antonini Caesar & ipse fuit.  
 Os tibi mellissimum, facies gratæ, venustæ,  
 Vox dulcis, levis, plena, sonans, gravis.  
 Res sacra, eloquium sanctum, diuina loquela,  
 Spiritus accensus, totus amoris Dei.  
 Hasere astantes in te vultuque manuque,  
 Inque tuas voces pendula turba fuit.  
 Quid multis? multas animas lucraris ab orco,  
 Hæsum & Lutherum saepe valere iubent.  
 Hos inter varios conatus atque labores,  
 Inssus es ad patrios ire repente lares.  
 Anglia mox repetenda tibi est, quæ religionis  
 Causa iam pridem terra relicta tibi est.  
 Longum iter ingressus pedibus, latèque patentes  
 Permensus terras, ad tua vota venis.  
 Saluus & incolumis Christo ducè litorè pressas,  
 Formidanda alijs, sed tibi tuta satis.  
 Hæresis hic regnat, non una, aut altera, multos  
 Multorum errores insula parua colit.  
 Hanc sylvam ingressus variam hinc inde ferarum,  
 Te pugna contra tot fera monstra parat.  
 Immo ultro inuitas, sed nemo restipulatur.  
 Horror eras, tecum disseruisse patam.  
 Scribis adhuc modicum sed magno pondere librum:  
 Ecce nonis metus, & maior in hoste furor.  
 Interea peragrans regionem utroque citroque,

Atque

Atque docens vixit Catholicus in fide  
 Omnia traxit secum, siquae fatis stuebant  
 Ligna, Petra, montes ignibus et flammis  
 Magnatum ipsorum mollescent corda, rubrum  
 Fulmine verbarum, cetera verba magis  
 Penitus vitæ pariter fideique prioris  
 Et se tam miseros ante fuisse pudes.  
 Ardor inest animis, deuotio pectora complere,  
 Iamque colunt miræ religionis Deum.  
 Post annum captus, vincula, duellisque triumpho,  
 Tortus, & in mortem iudicis ore durans.  
 Denique perpassus quæcumque habet iste libellus,  
 Inter tot fratres M. A. R. T. ad astra migrans.  
 O felix vitæ cursus, finisque beatæ,  
 Fortiter in domino pro Dominoque mori.  
 Sis mihi quæso tuo facit placronis alumno,  
 Nec cesses pro me sepe rogare Deum.

Thus far of the three first, vvhich only of the  
 xiiij condemned the xx and xxi of November 1580,  
 vvhere as you haue heard together executed.

Novv howv after long tract of time, strait han-  
 deling, and much art vsed, to make them either  
 confesse the fained fact, or deny their faith: Seuen  
 moe of them vvære Martyred, after their examina-  
 tion in these articles folovving, & their severall  
 ansvvers subscribed vvith their ovvne handes, and  
 vvith the iiij commissioners assestation of the truth  
 of the act, vve vvill briefly report.

THE

# THE ARTICLES

MINISTRED TO THE  
7 PRIESTES, AND OTHERS  
CONDEMNED VVITH THEM, VVITH  
the ansvveres of these 7 to the same.

13. Maij. 1582.

**W**HETHER the Bull of *Pius quintus* against  
the Queenes Maiestie, be a lawfull sen-  
tence, and ought to be obeyed by the sub-  
iects of England?

2 Whether the Queenes Maiestie be a lawfull  
Queene, and ought to be obeyed by the subjects of  
England, notwithstanding the Bul of *Pius quintus*, or  
any other Bul or sentence that the Pope hath pro-  
nounced, or may pronounce against her Maiestie?

3 Vvhether the Pope haue or had powver to au-  
thorize the Earles of Northumberlande and Yvest-  
merland, and other her Maiesties subjects, to rebell or  
take armes against her Maiestie, or to authorize Do-  
ctour Saunders, or others, to inuade Irelande, or any  
other her dominions, and to beare armes against her,  
and vvhether they did therein lawfully or no?

4 Vvhether the Pope haue powver to discharge  
any of her highnes subjects, or the subjects of any  
A Christian

Christian prince from their allegiance or othe of obedience to her Maiestie, or to their prince for any cause?

5 Vvwhether the said Doctour *saunders*, in his booke of the visible monarchie of the Church, and Doctour *Bristowe*, in his booke of Motiues (vvriting in allowvance, commendation, and confirmation of the saide Bul of *Pius quintus*) haue therein taught, testified, or maintained a truth or a falsehood?

6 If the Pope doe by his Bull or sentence pronounce her Maiestie to be depriued, and no lawvful Queene, and her subiects to be discharged of their allegiance and obedience vnto her: and after, the Pope or any other by his appointment and authoritie, doe innade this Realme, vvwhich part vvoulde you take, or vvwhich part ought a good subiect of England to take?

*Luke Kirbyes Answer.*

**L**VKE KIRBY. To the first he saith, that the resolutiō of this article, depēdeth vpon the general question, whether the Pope may for any caule depose a prince: vvherein his opinion is, that for some causes he may lawvfully depose a prince, & that such a sentence ought to be obeyed.

To the second, he thinketh that in some cases (as infidelitie or such like) her Maiestie is not to be obeyed against the Popes Bul and sentence, for so hee saith he hath read, that the Pope hath so done, *de facto*, against other princes.

To the third he saith, he cannot answer it.

To the fourth, that the Pope (for infidelitie) hath  
such

such powver, as is mentioned is this article.

To the fifth, he thinketh, that both Doctor *Saunders*, and Doctour *Bristowe*, might bee deceived in these poynts of their bookes, but vvhether they vvere deceived or not, he referreth to God.

To the last he sayth, that vvhhen the case shall happen, hee must then take counsel vvhath vvere best for him to doe.

*Luke Kirby.*

John Popham.

Da. Levves.

Thomas Egerton.

John Hammond.

*Thomas Cottoms Answer.*

**T**HOMAS COTTOM. To ye first, in this & al other questions he beleueth as the Catholique Church (vvhich he taketh to be the Church of Rome) teacheth him. And other answer he maketh not, to any of the rest of these articles.

*By me Thomas Cottom Priest,*

John Popham.

Da. Levves.

Thomas Egerton.

John Hammond.

*Lawrence Richardsons Answer.*

**L**AURENCE RICHARDSON. To the fifth article hee answereth, that so farre as Doctour *Saunders*, & Doctour *Bristowe* agree vvvith the Catholique doctrine of the Church of Rome, hee allowveth that doctrine to be

A ij

true.

true. And touching the first, and all the rest of the articles hee sayth, that in all matters not repugnant to the Catholike religion, hee professeth obedience to her Maiestie, and otherwise maketh no ansvvere to any of them, but beleeueth therein as hee is taught by the Catholique Church of Rome.

*Lawrence Richardson.*

John Popham.

Da. Levyes.

Thomas Egerton.

John Hammond.

*Thomas Fordes Ansvvere.*

**T**HOMAS FORD. To the first he saith, that he cannot ansvvere, because he is not priuy to the circumstances of that Bull, but if he did see a Bul published by Gregory the thirteenth, he would then deliuer his opinion thereof.

To the second hee saith, that the Pope hath authoritie to depose a prince vpon certaine occasions: and vwhen such a Bul shalbe pronounced against her Maiestie, he vwill then ansvvere vwhat the duety of her subiects, and vwhat her right is.

To the third he saith, he is a priuate subiect, and vvil not ansvvere to any of these questions.

To the fourth hee sayth, that the Pope hath authoritie vpo certaine occasions (vvhich he vvil not name) to discharge subiects of their obedience to their Prince.

To the fift he saith, that Doctour *saunders*, and Doctour *Bristorve*, bee learned men, & vwhether they haue taught

## ANSWERS.

taught truely in their bookes métioned in this article, hee referreth the ansvvere to them selues, for him selfe vvil not ansvvere.

To the last he sayth, that vvhen that case shal happen, he vvil make ansvvere, and not before.

*Thomas Forde.*

John Popham.

Da. Levves.

Thomas Egerton.

John Hammond.

*John Sherts Ansvvere.*

**J**OH N S H E R T. To all the articles he saith, that he is a Catholique, and svvarueth in no poynt from the Catholique faith, & in other sort to any of these articles he refuseth to ansvvere.

*John Shert.*

John Popham.

Da. Levves.

Thomas Egerton.

John Hammond.

*Robert Iohnsons Ansvvere.*

**R**OBERT IOHNSON. To the first he saith, he can not ansvvere.

To the second, he cannot tel vvhat power or authoritie the Pope hath in the poynts named in this article.

To the third, he thinketh that the Pope hath authoritie in some cases, to authorize subiects to take armes against their Prince.

A iij

To

## ANSWERS.

To the fourth, he thinketh that the Pope for some causes, may discharge subiects of their allegiance and obedience to their natural Prince.

To the fifth he saith, the ansvvere to this article dependeth vpon the lawfulnessse of the cause for the vvhich the Pope hath giuen sentence against her: but if the cause vvas iust, then hee thinketh the doctrine of Doctour *Saunders*, and Doctour *Bristow* to be true. Whether the cause vvere iust, or not, hee taketh not vpon him to iudge.

To the last, he saith, that if such depriuation and inuasion should be made for tēporal matter, he would take part vvith her Maiestie: but if it vwere for any matter of his faith, he thinketh hee vwere then bounde to take part vvith the Pope.

*Robert Iohnson.*

John Popham.

Da. Levves.

Thomas Egerton.

John Hammond.

*William Filbee his Ansvvere.*



**VILLIAM FILBEE.** To the first he saith, the Pope hath authoritie to depose any prince: and such sentences vhen they bee promulgated ought to be obeyed by the subiects of any prince: but touching the Bul of *Pius quintus* he can say nothing, but if it vvas such as it is affirmed to be, he doth allowv it, and saith that it ought to be obeyed.

To the second he saith, it is an hard question, and therefore he can not ansvvere it, but vpon further aduise-  
ment,

uifement, he ansvvereth as to the first.

To the third, he knowveth not vvhat to faye ther-  
vnto.

To the fourth hee fayth, that fo long as her Ma-  
ieftie remaynerh Queene, the Pope hath no authoritie  
to varrant her fubiefts to take armes againft her, or  
to difobey her, but if he fhould depofe her, then hee  
might difcharge them of their allegiance & obediēce  
to her Maieftie.

To the fifth he fayth, he vvil not meddle vvith the  
doctrine of Doctour *saunders* and Doctour *Bristowe*.

To the laft, vvhen this cafe happeneth, then hee  
faith hee vvill ansvvere: & if he had bene in Ireland,  
vvhen Doctour *saunders* vvas there, hee vvoulde haue  
done as a prieft fhould haue done, that is, to pray that  
the right may haue place.

*William Filbee.*

John Popham.

Da. Levves.

Thomas Egerton.

John Hammond.



THE MARTYRDOMES  
OF THE REVEREND PRI-  
ESTES M. THOMAS FORDE,  
M. Iohn Sherre & M. Robert Iohnson,  
the XXVIII. of Maye, 1582.

*And first of M. Thomas Forde, priest  
and Maister of arte.*

**T**HEY were al trailed vpon  
herdles from the Towver of Lō-  
don alonge the streates thereof  
vnto Tyborne, betvvixt vj & vij  
of the clocke in the morning. first, M. Ford  
being fet vp in the carte, he blessed him self  
vvith the signe of the Crosse, being so  
vveake as he fel dovvne in the carte, & after  
he vvas vp, he said: I am a Catholike, and  
do dyc in the catholike religion. and there-  
vvith he vvas interrupted by Sherife Mar-  
tine, saying, you come not hither to con-  
fesse your religiō, but as a traitor and male-  
factor to the Queenes Maiestie and the  
vvhole Realme, mouing and sturing of se-  
dition. And therfore I pray you goe to and  
confesse your fault, and submitte your selfe  
to the Queenes mercie, and no doubt but  
she vvould forgiue you.

They cā not  
abid, the cō-  
fessiō of the  
Catholike  
faith.

They harpe  
alwaies vpō  
one string,  
thū vvil not  
found.

Vwherevnto he answered. That suppo-  
sed offence vvherof I vvas endyted & con-  
demned,

demned, vvas the conspiring of her Maie-  
sties death at Rome and Rhemes: vvhwhereof  
I vvas altogether not guiltly, for the offence  
vvas supposed, for conspiring the Queenes  
Maiesties death in the 22 yere of her Ma-  
iesties raigne, at vvhich time I vvas in En-  
gland remaining & longe before that, for  
I haue remained here for the space of vj or  
vij yeres, and neuer departed this realme:  
vvhwhereof I might bring the vvitnes of an  
hundreth, yea fyue hundreth sufficiēt men,  
and had therevpon been discharged at the  
barre, if I would haue disclosed their names  
vwith vvhom I had been, vvhich I did for-  
beare onely for feare to bring them in to  
trouble. Then Sherife Martine said, here is  
your ovvne hand vwriting, vwith the testi-  
monic of worshopfull men, as the Queenes  
Atturney, D. Hammō, D. Levves & others,  
and if that vvil not serue, here is one of  
your ovvne companions that vvas the Po-  
pes scholler, to testifie your offence. To the  
which M. Forde ansyvered, that nor vwith-  
standing, I am altogether not guiltly vwhat  
soeuer you haue vvritten.

Neither Was  
he euer at  
Rome or  
Remes in al  
his life.

A notable  
charitie, and  
worthy such  
a priest.

Nothing wil  
serue to pro-  
ue their con-  
demnatio to  
be iust.

He cōtinued for the most parte in praier  
secretly to him self, during the time that the  
Sherife or any other spake to him. Then  
vvas a scrolle of his examination redd by  
a Minister, to some articles he said nothing,  
but to others he said that the P o p e for  
some

Though not  
determined  
by who, the  
prince might  
be deposed.

A notable  
company for  
their purpose:  
that will  
beare witness  
of that which  
he neuer saw  
nor heard in  
his life.

INNOCENT  
CIE.

some causes may depose a prince of his estate & dignitie, & discharge the subiectes of their deuries & alleageance. for (quoth he) this question was disputed xiiij yerres since, at Oxford by the diuines there, before the Queenes Maiestie, and there it vvas made and proued to be a most cleere case in her ovrne presence. And here being interrupted, Munday the Popes scholler being called as a vvitness, said, That Forde vvas priuey to their conspiracies, but vvas not able to affirme that euer he saw him beyond the seas, this his assertion, M. Forde vriterly denied vpon his death. And being asked what he thought of the Queenes M, & vvithal vvilled to aske her & the whole realme, vvhom he had stirred to seditio, forgeuenes. He said, that he acknowvledged her for his sufferaine and Queene, and that neuer in his life he offended her, & so praying secretly, desired al those that vv ere of his faith to pray vvith him: & ended With this praier, I E S V S, I E S V S, I E S V S, esto mihi I E S V S. and hanged vntil his fellow M. Shert (belike to terrifie him the more) might see him.

*M. Iohn Shert Priest.*



**M**. SHERT being brought fro the herdle, and seing his fellow M. Forde hanged before him, vvith a confident courage, smyling countenance, and vvith his handes

handes lifted vp, he spake as followveth, *O happie Tom, happie arte thou that didst rñe that happie race, O benedicta anima, thou art in good case. That blessed soule pray for me.* And being lifted into the carte, he desired al Catholikes to pray for him, and turning to the place of execution (by the commaundement of the Sherife) seeing his fellovv bovyed and beheaded, he kneeled dovvn, and cried

His martyr-  
dō and inno-  
cencie pro-  
ued him to  
be a Sainct,  
& as to such  
a one he prai-  
ed.

*O Tom, o happie Tom, o blessed soule happie arte thou, thy blessed soule pray for me.* And being found fault withal, because he praied to those that were dead, he said, *O blessed ladie mother of God pray for me, and al the Sainctes of heauen pray for me.* the Sherife finding fault vvith this as vvith erroneous doctrine, he answered that it vvvas booth found and true doctrine, vvwhich he vvould novv *seale vvish his blond,* & after beganne as folovveth.

They cā not  
abid our La-  
dy to be prai-  
ed vnto nei-  
ther.

A marue-  
lous cōstācy

O blessed Lord, to thee be al honour and praise. First, I giue the most hartie thanks, for that thou didst create me of nothing, to thy likenes & similitude. secondly, for my redemption by the death of thy svveete sonne **I E S U S C H R I S T** my Saviour and redeemer. And lastly that thou vvilt bring me thy poore seruāt to so glorious & happy a death for thy sake, al though in the eies of worldlinges contumelious and reprochefull, yet to me most ioyfull and glorious, and for the vvwhich I yeld the most hartie thanks. and therevvith vvvas letted to proced further by the Sherife, vvho said to him, aske the Queene forgiuenes for these treasons vvhereof thou arte cōdemned, vvho answered, The al king of forgiuenes doth implie an offence done, for me to charge my self being innocent, it vvvere not my deutie, and vvve haue been racked and tormented for these thinges, and nothing hath been found. also vvve haue been tvvise examined since our condemnation, vvwhich hath not been seen heretofore in any malefactor: those supposed

A' goodly  
speech wor-  
thie such a  
Martyr.

They seeme  
in the eies of  
fooles to die  
Sap. 3.

M. Sherife  
loueth not  
such good  
talke.

Douting the  
selues of the  
vniust cōde-  
natiō, vvvere  
forced to  
seeke nev  
matter.

posed treasons vvhwhereof I am condemned, I leaue betvvene God and my selfe, and vpon my death I am altogether innocent and faultles, and I vtterly refuse to aske her forgiuenes, for this fact vvhwhereof I am condemned, for that I am not guilty: but if in any other priuat matter I haue offended, I aske her and the world forgiuenes, for it is impossible for me to be guilty of the conspiracie at Rhemes or Rome, being in England long time before the said supposed treasons committed, and continuing here stil sithence (the vvhich Munday being his accuser did not much denie) for he said he neuer knew him beyond the seas neither at Rome nor at Rhemes.

A prety trick

It vvas manifest by the preface of their ovvne making.  
What a mockery is this?  
They knew he was as innocent as the Q. merciful.  
A markable saying.

INNOCENTIE.

Then Sherife Martine requested a Minister that stood besyde to reade his examination. Vvho answered that as the man is obstinate now, so vpon his examination vvas he as obstinate, for he vttered nothing that is to be red, but that notwithstanding he red the preface of the booke, containinge, as is there to be seen, vvhich being redd, the Sherife desired M. Sherte againe, to knowvledge his offence seeing that it vvas so manifest, and to aske the Queene forgiuenes, affirming, that the Queene vould deale very mercifully vwith him, and that he had authoritie him self, if he did acknowvledge his fault, to stay his execution and to returne him backe vwithout more a doe, and as euen not long since I found fault vwith you for svvearing, & you cryed God mercie therfore, so novv here confesse your offences and be sorie for them, vvhich answered, should I for sauing this carcas condemne my soule? God forbid. Being asked vvhich he thought of the Queenes Maiestie, answered: I acknowvledge her for my soueraigne ladie & Queene, for vvhose prosperous estat and vvell doing in prison and at libertie, I did alvvayes pray. And being demanded vvhether he thought her to be supreme go-

gouernor vnder Christ of the church of England?

he said :

I vvil geue to Cæsar , that vvhich is his, & to God, that, that belongeth to God : *She is not, nor cannot be, nor any other, but only the supreme pastor.* Vvhat do you meane, that vvhere of Babilon the Pope, said the Sherife? Take heed M. Sherife (quoth M. Sherte) for the day vvil come vvhen that shal be a sore vvord for your soule, & the it shal repēt you, that euer you called **CHRISTES VICAR GENERAL** in earth, *Vvboore* : vvhen you & I shal stand at one barre, before that indifferent iudge, vvho iudgeth al thinges a right, then I say, vvil you repent your saying, & then must I geue testimonie against you.

And the hangman making readie at the importunate clamor of the people, vvho cried to dispatch, saying, that he had liued to long. He deliuered his handkercheefe to the hangmā with tvvo shillings therein, saying, take this for thy hire, & I pray God forgeue thee, leauing this vvarning and testimonie to the vvhole people in a loud voice that al might here him, denouncing as foloweth.

*Vvho soeuer dieth out of the CATHOLIQUE CHVRCH he dieth in the state of damnation.* Therewith, turned almost rōde about, held vp his hāds vvagging them to the people, and then beganne to pray as follovveth : *Domine Iesus Christe fili Dei vivi, pone passionem, crucem et mortem tuam &c.* vvith his *Pater noster*, *Aue Maria*, and other like praiers. And vvhen the carte vvvas trailed avvay, his hands being before on high, in the putting the dovvne, he light vpon the rope, and so held it, and the officers pulled them dovvne. The Sherife then said, not vvithstanding his obstinacie, see hovv vvilling he is to liue. so he hanged til he vvvas dead. But it semed to me that his hands by chaūce, as he vvvas putting the downe, fel vpon the rope which he by chāce held fast in his hands, as ( in that case ) he vvould haue done any other thing if he had chanced vpon it.

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Vvhen they can find no temporal & old treasons, they flee to the spiritual treasons of their ovvne making.

A vvorthie admonitiō.

As the lewes cried against christ & S. Steuē, at the instigation of the Pharesies, so now moued by the Ministers.

England can haue no excuse, being so notorioufly warned. Haue not Catholikes cōfidence in Christs passion?

A malicious & folish interpretation, for a man dying, naturally, taketh hold of any thing he ligetteth on.

Ro

A new inhu-  
mane prac-  
tis, to terrife  
them, and to  
force the by  
horror to  
confesse the  
things wher  
of they were  
innocent.

Crosses trou-  
bleth them.  
The mildnes  
of the Mar-  
tyr.

Plaine INNO-  
CENCIE.

God make  
them his ser-  
uants, for di-  
uers of them  
do against  
their consci-  
ence.  
Vvhē al fai-  
leth Munday  
is ready to  
helpe at a  
pinch vvith  
his orbe &  
testimonie.



. I O H N S O N being brought from the  
herdel, vvas commaunded to loke vpō  
M. Sherte vvho was hanging, and then  
immediatly cut dovvn. And so being  
holpen into the carte, vvas commaun-  
ded againe to looke backe tovwards M. Sherte  
vvho vvas then in quartering. And after he turned  
him, and signed himselfe vvith the signe of the  
crosse, saying, *In nomine patris et filij et spiritus sancti.*  
Dispatch, quoth the Sherife, & speake quietly.  
I vvould be sorie answered M. Johnson, to trou-  
ble or offend your vvorship. You shal not offend  
me faith the Sherife, so that you offend not God.  
*Johnson.* I am a Catholike, and am condemned for  
cōspiring the Queenes Maiesties death at Remes:  
vvith the other companie vvho vv ere condemned  
vvith me. I protest, that as for some of them, vvith  
vvhom I vvas condemned to haue conspired with  
al, I did neuer see them, before vve met at the barre,  
neither did I euer vvrite vnto them, or receiue let-  
ters from the. and as for any treasons I am neither  
guiltie in deede nor thought. *Sherife.* your ovvne  
hand subscribed to your examinatio taken by men  
of good consciences, the seruants of God. M Pop-  
pam attorney general, M. Egerton the soliciter, M.  
Levves and M. Hammon doctors of the ciuil lavv,  
shal be laid against you. Also if that wil not serue,  
you shal haue him vvho vvas the Popes scholler &  
a companiō amongst you to testifie your treasons  
*viua voce*, one *Munday*. wherevnto M. Johnsons ex-  
aminatio novv in print, vvas red, his answers to  
the vj articles proposed, are as aboue. But they vr-  
ged him further touching the fifth and the sixth ar-  
ticles. And the Minister redd his answer to the  
fifth article to be, That he alovved of Saunders &  
Bristovves doings and vvritings- To the which he  
anf

answered & said, my answer was not so as you  
reade it (neither in truth was it so in the booke)  
but I answered, and so I say now, that as for the  
doings of D. Saunders & D. Bristowe, I am altoge-  
ther ignorant of, neither was I euer priuy to their  
factes, and how then could I approue or disaloue  
them? this was my answer then, and now also I  
say the same. To the last article his answer was  
red, and now being demanded of the same, he  
said he was of the same minde stil, and would die  
in the same minde. *Sherife.* wel that is high treason,  
but you shal heare also what your owne compa-  
nion named Munday, can say against you, vther-  
vpon Munday was called, and came nigh to the  
carte.

*Johnson.* Munday, did thou euer knowe me beyond  
the seas, or was I euer in thy company? *Munday.* I  
was neuer in your company, neither did I euer  
know you beyond the seas, But I was priuy to  
your most horrible treasons, vwhereof you were  
most clerely conuicted, I speke this with safe con-  
science. And were not priestes sent from *Auiniõ*  
for that purpose? I pray God you may repent you  
thereof, and that you may die a good subiect. *John-*  
*son.* Munday, God geue the grace to repent thee of  
thy deedes, truly thou arte a shrevvd fellow, but  
there is no time now to reason these matters with  
thee, onely I protest before God, I am not guiltie  
of any treason. *Sherife.* Dost thou acknowvledge  
the Queene for lawfull Queene? repent thee, and  
notwithstanding thy traitorous practices, we haue  
authoritic from the Queene to carrie the backe.

*Johnson.* I do acknowvledge her as lawfull as *Q.*  
*Marie* was, I can say no more, but pray to God to  
geue her grace, & that she may now stay her hand  
from shedding of innocent bloude. *Sherife.* Dost  
thou acknowvledge her supreme head of the chur-  
che in ecclesiastical matters? *Johnson,* I do acknowv-

led

109  
These Mini-  
sters can do  
nothing sin-  
cerely.

o He was  
not condẽned  
for this trea-  
son.

He is indeed  
a companion,  
but was ne-  
uer his com-  
panion.

Mundays con-  
science, may  
be turned in  
to a proverbe.  
b A most im-  
pudent and  
folish lie.

c How glad-  
ly they wold  
haue the to  
confesse that  
which ne-  
uer was, to  
saue their  
credites for  
murdering  
of the rest.

A necessarie  
admonition

They flee to  
matters of  
religion.

How proue  
you that?

ledge her to haue as ful and great authority as euer  
Q. Marie had, and more vvith fastie of conscience  
I can not geue her. The Sherife & other said, thou  
arte a traitor most obstinat. *Iohnson*. If I be a traitor  
for mainteining this faith, the was king *Henry*,  
and al the kinges & Queenes of this realme before  
time, and al our auncitours traitors. for they main-  
teined the same. *Sherife*. vvhat? you vvil preach trea-  
son also if vve suffer you? *Iohnson*. I teach but the  
CATHOLIKE RELIGION.

One demaüded, what do you meane by Catholike  
religion? *Iohnson*. I meane that religion vvhereof  
the P O P E is supream pastor. Then a Minister as-  
ked him, vvhat, vvvas *Athanasius* a catholike? vvhat  
held he? to vvhom M. *Iohnson* answered I am not  
so vvell red in *Athanasius* to know al his opiniõs.  
The other said, I am shure you haue read *Quicunque*  
*vult &c.*? vvherevnto M. *Iohnson* gaue no great at-  
tention. but he said againe, vvhat? haue you not  
redd *Athanasius* creede *Quicunque vult &c.*? yes  
said he that I haue, and I belecue it to be good and  
catholike. But in al that, said the Minister, you can

An argumēt  
meet for a  
Minister.

not find the Pope once named. It it not necessaric  
(quoth M. *Iohnson*) the Pope should be named in  
euery thing that appertaineth to the CATHOLIKE  
FAITH. Vvherevpon the rope vvvas put about his  
necke, and he vvvas vvilled to pray, which he did in  
latin. They willed him to pray in english that they  
might vvitnes vvith him: he said I pray that praier  
vvhich Christ taught, in a tonge I vvell vnderstand.

But God do-  
eth. to who  
he praied,  
neither nec-  
deth he any  
witness there  
of.

The Mini-  
sters spea-  
ches ar euer  
like them  
selues,


*Sherife*. But vve do not vnderstand it. *Iohnson*. I do  
thinke your w. doth vnderstand it. *Sherife*. If I do,  
others do not: vvherefore pray in english that o-  
thers may testifie it, and pray vvith you. An other  
Minister cried pray as Christ taught. *Iohnson*. vvhat?  
do you thinke that Christ taught in english? M.  
*Iohnson* praied in latin, saying his *Pater noster* his  
*Aue* and *Creede* and *In manus tuas &c.* & so the carte

was

was trailed away, and he finished this life as the  
rest did: al hanged vntil they were dead, and so  
cut downe and quartered.

THE MARTYRDOMES OF  
the Reuerend Priests, M. Vvilliam  
Filbie, M. Lucas Kirbie, M. Laurence  
Richardson vvwhose right name vvas  
Johnson, and M. Thomas Cottam  
the 30 of May 1582.

And first of M. Vvilliam Filbie, native  
of OXFORD.

 N wenesday being the 30 of May  
these 4 venerable Priests aboue named  
were trailed from the Towver of Lon-  
don along the streates to Tyborne, a-  
bout viij of the clocke in the morning,  
when they were come to the place of execution,  
Vvilliam Filbie (being the yongest, not aboue  
xxvij yeres of age) was first taken from the herdle,  
and being lifted into the carte, he blessed him self  
with the signe of the Crosse, saying, *In nomine pa-  
tris & filij & spiritus sancti.* and so proceded with  
these wordes: Let me see my brethren, looking to  
the other which lay on the herdle. & there vvithal  
holding forth his handes to them, said, Pray for me.  
Then speaking to the companie, said: I am a Ca-  
tholike, and I protest before almightie God, that  
I am innocent of al these matters, whereof I am  
condemned, and I hope to be saued by the merites  
and death of our Sauour **I E S V S C H R I S T:**  
beseeching him to haue mercie on me, and to for-  
giue me my offences. And therevvithal a procla-  
mation was red for keeping the Peace, and at the

B

end

end thereof was said, God saue the Queene, to which he said, *Amen.*

INNOCENT  
III.

A ministers  
note.

A promise of  
obedience  
to his ordi-  
nary: but  
therein is  
no mention  
of the Pope.

He was no  
more asha-  
med of this  
his Saviours  
banner, the of  
his crowne,  
the which he  
made shift  
to shawe.

The people asking him for what Queene he praied for, he answered, for Queene Elizabeth, beseeching God to send her a long & quiet raigne, to his good will, and make her his seruant, and preserue her from her enemies. With that M. Topcliff and others willed him to say, God saue her from the Pope. To whom he answered he is not her ennemie, therewith the Minister of S. Andrewes in Holborne said, Note, that he saith the Pope is not the Queenes ennemie. And then a preacher called Charke, yes said he you are a traitor, for, you are svvorne to the Queenes svvorne ennemie. M. Filbie loking aside, said, what do you meane, I neuer toke othe in al my life. Vwhat said Charke, then are you not a Priest, you are deceiued, said M. Filbie, it is a vow and not an othe. After that one of the Sherifes men standing in the carte with M. Filbie, said vnto him, what hast thou there in thy handkercheefe, and therewithal taking the handkercheefe from him, found a litle Crosse of wodde with in it, which he holding vp in his handes said, *ô what a villanous traitour is this, that hath a Crosse,* diuerse times repeating it, and diuers of the people saying the same. Vwherevnto M. Filbie answered nothing, onely smiling at them.

Then the articles, with the preface of the booke printed by authoritie, was redd, and his answers vnto them. It was replied against him by some vrging him further vpon the same answer: if you hold this, then you can not be but a traitor to the Queenes Maiestie, for that the Pope hath deposed her by his Bul. M. Filbie said, that that Bull was perchaunce called in againe by this Pope Gregorie the 13. to the sixt article he answered, that if he had been in Irland, he would haue done as a Priest should haue done, that is to pray that the right might take place

place, to whom some replied did *Saunders* wel in that fact of Irland, I know not (quoth he) I was not priue to his doinges, I neuer favy him or spake with him, let him ansvver for him self. Then *Sherife Martine* called vpon the hangman to dispatch, and the roope being about his necke, the Sherife said, *Filbie*, the Queene is merciful vnto you, and we haue authoritie from her, to carie you backe, if you vvil aske her mercie, & confesse your fault doe not refuse mercie offered, aske the Q. forgiuenes, to whom *M. Filbie* ansvvered, I neuer offended her, wel then said the Sherife make an ende, & thus desiring al Catholikes to pray for him he praied, saying his *Pater noster*, his *Aue*, & *In manus tuas* &c. and when the carte was trailing avay, he said Lord, receiue my soul. & so hanged knocking his breast feveral times til some pulled dovvne his handes, and so finished his life.

INNOCENT  
CIE.

*M. Luke Kirbie Priest, and M. of arte.*

**T**HEN was *M. Luke kirbie* brought to see his fellow hang, and being listd vp to the carte, he beganne thus: O my frendes, o my frendes, I am come hither for supposed treason, although in deepe it be for my conscience, & after praied thus, O my Saviour IESVS CHRIST by vvhose death and passion I hope to be saued, forgine me sinfull sinner, my manifold sinnes and offences &c. and being comaunded to torne tovvardes the place of executiō, his fellow *M. Filbie* being beheaded, and as the maner is, the executioner lifting his head betvvene his handes, he cried, God saue the Queene, to the which *M. kirbie* said, Amen. & being asked what Queene, he ansvvered, Queene Elizabeth, to whom, he praied God to send a long and prosperouse raigne, and preserue her from her enemies. *Charke* willed him to say from the Pope his curse and povver.

An vndis-  
crete questiō  
putting a  
scruple into  
the peoples  
heades.

B ij

*kirbie*

*Kirbie*, If the Pope leaue warre against her, or curse her vniustly, God preserue her from him also, and so to direct her in this life, as that she may further & mainteine Christs CATHOLIKE RELIGION, & at last enherite the kingdom of heauen.

And after, he made a solemne protestation of his innocencie in that, whereof he was condemned. adding, that if ther were any liuing that could iustly accuse him in any one point of that, whereof he was condemned, he was ready to submitte himself to her maiesties clemencie. And seing *Munday* present, he desired he might be brought in, to say what he could. Vwho being brought in, said, that being at Rome he perswaded him & an other yong man named *Robinson*, to stay there, and not to come to England, for that shortly some stirre or trouble vvas like to come, and seing that could not stay him, he said, that he willed him to perswade those that were his frendes to the Catholike religion againe the great day. to which *M. Kirbie* answered, that it was vnlike that he, who knew before his departure from Rome how he was affected in religion, would vtter any such wordes to him, to perswade the people. To which *Munday* replied, that it was like, because he deliuered him some halloved pictures to carie with him. To the which *M. Kirbie* answered, that because he mistrusted him he would deliuer, nor did deliuer him any but he said, he did deliuer him two Iulies to be pictures, and that now he was very ingratusly dealt withal, being by him falsely accused: he being such a benefactor to al his countreimen, although he knew them to be otherwise affected in religion then him self was. for he said he spake to some of the Popes chifft officers, and was like through them, to come to trouble. to others, he said he deliuered the shert of his backe, and trauailed with others, fortie miles for their sasse conduct, and onely for good vvil: and said further,

that vntwitting to *Munday*, he wrote a letter to one in *Remes* to deliuer him fiftten shillings, vvhich he neuer receiued, because he neuer went to receiue it. And he vrged *Munday* againe in the feare and loue of God to say but the truth, alledging farther how one *Nicolls*, who in his bookes vttered much more of him then *Munday* did, yet his conscience accusing him, he came to his chamber in the Towver and in presence of foure, whereof he named his keper to be one, recanted and denied that, which before he had affirmed in his booke. One *Topcliffe* said how do you know that *Nicolls* hath recanted. *M. Kirbie* answered, he came into my chamber in the Towver, and there befor foure he said these wordes. (*See M. Kirbies letter at the ende of this tragedie.*)

Then the Sherife interrupted him, and said: Then, he accused him  
euen as he hath recanted his error, and is sorie for it, so do you. *M. Kirbie* not regarding his wordes  
passed on, and shewed likewise, that this *Munday* no cause  
in presence of *Sir orven Hopton* and others, did say, vwhy he  
that he could charge him with nothing. Vvhich should con-  
*Munday* denied. But he affirmed it againe, and said, fesse it.  
that then one that vvas present said, that vpon that  
confession he might take aduantage. Then the  
Sherife asked who that was? and he after a while  
answered that it vvas one *Condridg*. After this, his  
answer to the forsaide articles vvas redd: where  
to the first, bein examined, he said, that the excom-  
munication of *Pius Quintus* was a matter of fact,  
vvherein the Pope might erre, the which I do  
leaueto him self to answer for. And vvhether he  
said that the Pope for some causes might depose  
a prince. now he doth explaine it, that it was a  
question disputable in scholles, whether the Pope  
might depose princes? And being asked by *Topcliff*,  
whether he vwould die for a matter disputable in  
scholles? he said, he did only yeld his opinion.

By this Ministers argument the Emperor could not haue deposed Pilat from his president-shipe.

As though the Queene were not a soule also, & the Pope in higher superiority then she.

The Church hath no authority ouer infidels: but ouer al Christians.

Wisely.

To the second, he added further, that he thought, some of the lerned that vvere there present vwould affirme that also. Vwhereat diuers with on voice said, No. Vwherevpon *M. Kirbie* called for one *M. Crovley* Once or twise. And a Minister brought a place out of Salomon, which saith, *By me kinges rule and Tyrants are exalted*, and an other out of the Gospel, where it is said, vnto Pilat, *Thou shouldest not haue any power against me, vnles it vvere geuen the from above*. Prouing, that because their authoritie vvas from God, no man might haue authoritie to displace them. And one Minister there argued thus to the same pourpose, That euery soule must be subiect to superior powers, & therefor (quoth he) the Pope him selfe if he be a soule must be subiect, and consequently can not depose others of their soueranitie. And *M. Kirbie* being about to ansvver, was interrupted by an other Minister, who alleged the practise of the primitiue Church. vwhen, notwithstanding that Christians liued vnder heathen princes, yet they did obey them. To vvhich *M. Kirbie* said, that the case did differ, for vvhether the Prince is once a Christian, and after falleth to infidelitie, there he may be disobeied, but where he was neuer Christian, the case is otherwise. To the fourth ansvvering as befor, notwithstanding (saith he) I acknowvledge to my Prince and *Q.* much deutie and authoritie as euer I did to *Q. Marie*, or as any subiect in France, Spaine, or Italie, do acknowvledge to his king or prince: and more I can not nor ought not of deutie geue her. And therupon *Topcliff* demaunded, what if al they be traitors, vvil you be a traitor to? to which he ansvvered, what? be they all traitors? God forbid. for if al they be traitors, then al our auncesters haue been traitors likewise. And as for *D. D. Saunders* and *Brisfey* they might erre in their priuate opinions, the which I vvil defend no further then

then they doe agree with the iudgemēt of Christs  
CATHOLIKE CHVRCH.

Being demaunded. Vvwhether he thought the  
Queene to be supreme gouernesse of the Church  
of England, he answered, he was redy to yeld her  
as much authoritie as any other subiect ought to  
yeld his prince, or as he would yeld to Q. Marie,  
and more with fastie of conscience he could not  
do. Then *Sherife Martine* tould him, that the Q.  
was merciful and vvould take him to her mer-  
cie: so he would confesse his deutie towards her,  
and forsake *that man of Rome*, and that he had autho-  
ritie him selfe to stay execution & carie him backe  
againe.

Vvho answered, that to deny the P O P E S au-  
thoritie was a point of faith: which he would  
not deny for sauing of his life, being sure to dāne  
his soule. Then was it tendered him, that if he  
would but confesse his fault and aske the Queene  
forgeuenes, she would yet be merciful to him.  
He answered againe, that his conscience did geue  
him a cleere testimonie that he neuer offended, and  
therefore he vvould neither confesse that, where-  
of he was innocent, neither aske forgeuenes,  
where no offence was committed against her Ma-  
iestie. Wel, (then said *Sherife Martine*) doe but  
acknowvledg those thinges which your fellow  
*Besgrace* hath done, such as appereth by his exami-  
nation, and I will yet saue your life. who denie  
likevvise.

O Marue-  
lous con-  
stancie.

By these nu-  
bers of prof-  
fers, it is  
plaine they  
iudged them  
innocent in  
their con-  
science.

Then the people cried avvay with him, and he  
beganne to pray in latin, the Ministers and others  
desired him to pray in English, and they vvould  
pray with him. Who answered, that in praying  
with them, he should deshonour God, but if you  
were of on faith with me, then I would pray with  
you. But he desired al those that were Catholikes  
to pray vvith him, and he vvould pray with them:

B iiij

and

and as for any other that vvas a Christian, and desirous to pray for him, he would not let them: although he would not pray with them. And so after that he had ended his *Pater noster*, & began his *Aue*, the carte vvas dravven avway and there he hanged vntil he was dead, and vntil his two fellovves *Richardson* and *Cottam*, did take the vevve of him. His speeches were very intricat, for that many did speake vnto him, & of feveral matters: but here are the principal thinges by him vttered to my remembrance.

*A true copie of a letter sent by that constant confessor  
Maistre Kirbie to certaine his frendes.*

**M**

Y moste hartie commendations to you and the rest of my derelt fiendes. If you sende any thing to me, you must make hast, because we looke to suffer death very shortly, as alreadie it is signified to vs. yet I much feare lest our vnworthines of that excellent perfection & crowne of Martyrdome, shall procure vs a longer lif. within these seve daies, *Iohn Nicolls* came to my chambre windowve, with humble submission, to craue mercy and pardon, for all his wickednes and trecheries committed against vs, and to acknowvledge his bookes, Sermons, and infamous speeches to our infamy and discredit, to be vvicked, false and most execrable before God and man. which for preferment, promotion, hope of livinge, and fauor of the nobilitie, he committed to writing, and to the vevve of the worlde, whereof beinge verye penitent and sorovvfull from his hart, rather then he vvould comit the like offence againe, he vvisheth to suffer a thousand deaths. for beinge pricked in conscience with our vniust condemnation which novv haith happened contrarie to his expectation,  
albeit

albeit he offered matter sufficient in his first booke of recantation, for our aduersaries to make a bill of indightement against vs, yet he minded then nothinge lesse, as he novv protesteth. He knowveth in conscience our accusations, and euidence brought in against vs, to be false, and to haue no coullor of truth but onely of malice forced by our ennimies: and for *Sledd* and *Mundaye*, he is him self to accuse them of this wicked trecherie & falshood: and of their naughtie and abominable life. of which he was made priuie, and vvhich for shame I can not committ to vvritinge. In detestation of his ovvne doinges and their wickednes, he is minded neuer here after to ascēd into pulpet, nor to deale againe in any matter of religion, for which cause he hath forsaken the Ministerie, and is minded to teach a schole (as I vnderstande by him) in Norffolke, in prose whereof he shewved me his nev v disguised apparell, as yet couered with his Ministers weede. I wished hym to make amendes for all his sinnes, and to go to place of pennance, and he ansyvered me, he vvas not yct conformable to vs in euerie point of religion, nor euer vvas, but liued at Rome in hipocrisie, as he hath done euer since in his ovvne profession. Againe he thought, that if euer he should departe the realme, he coule not escape burning.

He offred to go to Maister Leutenant, and to Maister Secretaire *Kyalzingham*, and to declare how iniuriously I, and the rest weare condemped, that he him self might be free from shedding Innocent bloude, albeit he was some what affraid to shew him self in London, vvhich alreadie he had declared our Innocent behauour, and his owne malicious dealinge tovvardes vs in his booke and Sermons.

To giue my censure and Iudgement of him, certain I thinke that he will within short time fall  
into

into infidelitie except God of his goodnes in the meane time be mercifull vnto him, and reclaime him by some good meanes to the Catholike faith: yet it should seeme he hath not lost all good giftes of nature, when as in conscience he was pricked to open the truth in our defence, and to detect his owne wickednes and trecheries of others, practised against vs to our confusion.

Now I see, as all the vworld hereafter shall easily perceave, that the doinges of this man do confirme the olde saying: That rather then God will haue wilful murther to be concealed, he procureth the birdes of the aier to reueale it.

I am minded to signifie to *Sir Francis Vvalzingham* this his submission vnto vs, except in the meane time I shall learne that he hath (as he promised faithfully to me) already opened the same. Maister *Richardson* and Maister *Philbie* haue now obtained some bedding, vvhich euer since their condemnation haue laine vpon the bordes. Maister *Hart* hath had many & great conflicts vvith his aduersaries. This morning the x. of Ianuarie, he vvas committed to the dongeo where he now remaineth, God comfort him, he taketh it verie quietly & patiently: the cause was, for that he would not yeld to Maister *Reignoldes* of Oxford, in any one point, but still remained constant the same man he vvas before and euer. Maister *Reignoldes*, albeit he be the best learned of that sort, that hath from time to time come hither to preach and conferre, yet the more he is tried and dealt vvith all, the lesse learning he hath shewed. Thus beseeching you to assist vs vvith your good praiers, vvhereof now especially, vve stande in neede, as we by Gods grace shal not be vnmindefull of you. I bid you farwel, this x. of Ianuarie. 1582.

Yours to death and after death.

*Luke kirbie.*

M.

whose right name vvas Iohnson, and

M. Thomas Cottam, Priestes

and graduates.



THESE twoe vvere brought together to looke vpon M. kirbie vvhich vvas then hanging, and being cut downe, they vvere put vp into the carte, vvhether with cheerefull countenances they signed them selues with the signe of the Crosse, saying: *In nomine patris & filij & spiritus sancti.* M. Cottam turning him about said, *God blesse you al, our Lord blesse you al*: vwith a smiling countenance. M. Richardson being commaunded by the Sherifes man to looke vpon his fellow; vvhich vvas in cutting vp, said: *o. Gods vwill be done.* Vwith that one Field a preacher said, *dispatch, dispatch.* to vvhich M. Cottam said with smiling countenance, what are you an executioner or a preacher, fye, fye. A Minister standing by said, leaue of those iestes, it is no time to ieast, he is a preacher, and not an executioner, he commeth to exhorth you to die vvel. Cottam. Truly by his vvordes he seemed to be an executioner, for he said *dispatch, dispatch.* Field, I did not say these vvordes to any Much entent, but that they vvhich vvere about the other should be quiet. Cottam. I crie God mercie for al my idle vvordes, and I beseech you M. Sherife, that you vvil not be offended vwith me, for truly I vvould lye vnder your horse fete to be troden vpo, befor I should offend you.

Then M. Richardson being placed right vnder the place vvhether he should hang, diuers moued speeches to him al at one time. To vvhom he answered, I pray you do not trouble me, if you demaund any questions of me, let them be touching the

Here he blest  
seth the peo-  
ple, & neuer  
curst them,  
as lying Mū-  
day vvriteth  
in his disco-  
uerie of Ed.  
Campion &c.

His mirth in  
God, proce-  
ded of a sin-  
cer. con-  
science and  
courage.

A vvise an-  
swer.

**I N N O -  
CENCIE.**

O happie  
me that die  
in the fel-  
lowship of  
al our holy  
aunciters.

As though  
not to obey  
a prince in  
causes of re-  
ligion, were  
treason.

A diuillish  
sclaunder  
raised by the  
Minister to  
disgrace the  
man of God.

He is char-  
ged with  
this act as  
truly, as  
with trea-  
son.

A very ze-  
alous & cha-  
ritable act.

the matter whereof I was condemned, and do not  
moue new questions, and therupon he was turned  
backe to look vpon M. *Kirbie*. who was then in  
quartering, which he did, and the head being cut  
of, they held it vp, saying: God saue the Queene,  
& he being demaunded vwhat he said, I say, *Amen*,  
*I pray God saue her*. And further said: I am come  
hither to die for treason, and I protest before God  
I am not guilty in any treason more then al Ca-  
tholike Bishops that euer were in this land sithen-  
ce the conuersion thereof, til our time: & as wel  
(if they were a lyue) might they be executed for  
treason, as I am now. To vvhom a Minister re-  
plied thus: the case is not like, for then Popish  
Priests liued vnder Popish Princes, and did not  
disobey them, & so were no traitors. In the meane  
time many wordes and sentences were vttered by  
M. *Cottam*. And a Minister amongst other thinges,  
willed him to confesse his wicked and leude be-  
hauour which he had committed in fish-streat  
about foure yeres since. *Cottam*. Vwhat do you  
meane? *Sherife*. He vwould haue you to confesse  
the filthe you committed in fish-streat. *Cottam*. O  
blessed I as v, thy name be praised, is this now  
laid here to my charg? the Minister said, no we do  
not charge you with it, but we would haue you to  
descharg you thereof if there be any such thing.  
An other Minister answered, no, it vvas not he,  
but his brother. *Cottam*. You shal here, you accuse  
me for filthe committed about foure yeres since in  
fish-street and I was not in London this seuen  
yeres, and if I had done any such thing, what do  
you meane to lay it to my charg. With that ij or iij  
of the said that it was not he but his brother. After  
that whilest they vvere talking with M. *Richardson*  
M. *Cottam* toke *Bur* the hangman by the illeue and  
said to him, God forgeue the and make the his ser-  
uant, take hede in time, and cal for grace, and no  
dout

dout but God wil heare the, take example by the executioner of S. Paul, who during the time of his execution, a litle drope of blood falling from S. Paul vpon his garment, white like milke, did after-ward cal him to remembrance of him selfe, and so became penitent for his sinnes, and became a good man: vvhose example I pray God thou maiest follow, and I pray God geue thee of his grace. The Minister of S. Andrevves said, what, did milke fall from his breast? *Cottam*. No, blood fell from his necke or head, in likenes of milke. *Minister of S. And.* vvhath do you say he was saued by that blood which fell vpon him? *Cottam*. No. I maruel vvhath you meane, and so was interrupted by some others to proceade. Then the articles were redd and his answers to them. adding that as touching the doctrine of D. D. *Saunders* and *Bristow* he alloweth of it so farre forth as they agree with the true CATHOLIKE CHVRCH OF ROME. *Topcliff* and some other ministers said, he builded his faith vpon *Saunders*. To whom he answered I build not my faith vpon any on man whatsoeuer, but vpon the vvhole CATHOLIKE CHVRCH.

Then the rope being put about both their neckes and fastened to the post. The Sherife said, Now *Richardson* if thou wilt confesse thy faultes and renounce the Pope, the Queene wil extend her mercie towards thee, & thou shalt be caried backe againe. *M. Richardson* answered, I thancke her maiestie for her mercie, but I must not confesse an vntruth or renounce my faith. At this vvhile *M. Cottam* was in praier, and vttering of diuers good sentences, saying, al that yve here sustaine, is for sauing of our soules, and therevwithal lifting vp his eyes to heauen, said: O Lord thou knowest our innocencie. Then he was willed to confesse his treasons. ô Lord (said he) how willingly would I confesse, if I did know any thing that did

The vvrangling of a Minister.

A most notorious eu-  
dence, of al  
their inno-  
cencie.  
In the most  
barboroust  
place vvh-  
of, he had  
found better  
intertaine-  
ment, then  
here at  
home.  
How gladly  
they vwould  
haue had  
any one of  
them, to co-  
fesse the pre-  
ceded fault.

That vvere  
strange.

A notable  
constancie.

did charg me, and if we had been guilty of any  
such thing, surely on or other of vs either by rac-  
king or death, would haue confessed it, or els vve  
had been such people as neuer were hard of. And I  
protest besor God that before my comming into  
England I vvas armed to go into Indea: and if I  
might be sett at libertie, I would neuer rest but on  
the iorney tovvardes that countrie. with that the  
Sherife said, the Queene wilbe merciful to thee,  
if thou wilt thy selfe, he answered I thancke her  
grace, saying farther, Do vvith me what you thinke  
good and thervvithal the Sherife comaunded that  
the roope should be losed from the post. And he  
remoued dovne from the carte.

Then *M. Richardson* was willed once againe to  
confesse and aske pardon of the Queene: he an-  
swered, that he neuer offended her to his know-  
ledg. Then *Topcliff* said, the like mercie was neuer  
shewed to any offender, and if you were in any  
other common wealth you should be torne in  
peces with horses. Then he was willed to pray, he  
praied, desiring al Catholikes to pray with him,  
he said his *Pater noster*, his *Aue*, and his *Creede*. and  
when the carte passed, *Lord, receiue my soule. Lord*  
*I E S V, receiue my soule.* And euen as the carte pas-  
sed avway, *M. Cottam* said, o good Lavvrence, pray  
for me. *Lord I E S V S, receiue thy soule*, which he  
repeated seuerall times. At this time *M. Cottam* vvas  
with the Sherife and the rest of the Ministers vpon  
the ground, hauing the rope stile about his necke.

I could not wel heare what persuations the  
Sherife and the Ministers had vvith him. But I doe  
coniecture that if he would renounce his faith, he  
should haue his pardon. For I hard him wel vter  
these wordes, I vvil not svvarue a iote from my  
faith, for any thing, yea if I had ten thousand liues  
I would rather lote them al, then forsake the CA-  
THOLIKE FAITH in any pointe. And vvith  
that he was lifted vp into the carte againe. And

the' Sherife said withal, dispatch him, since he is so stubborne.

Then he was turned backward to looke vpon M. Richardson vvhich was then in quartering, which he did, saying. *Lord Iesus, haue mercie vpon them: Lord, haue mercie vpon them. O Lord, geue me grace to endure to the end. Lord geue me constancie to the end.* which saying, he vttered almost for al the time that M. Richardson was in quartering: sauing once he said, *Thy soule pray for me.* and at the last said, *O Lord, vvhich a spectacle hast thou made vnto me?* the vvhich he repeated twice or thrise. and then the head of M. Richardson was holden vp by the executioner, who said (as the maner is) God saue the Queene, to vvhich M. Cottam said, I beseech God to saue her and blesse her & withal my hart I wish her prosperity as my lieage and soueraine Queene & cheefe gouernesse. They vvilled him to say, and supreme head in matters ecclesiastical, to vvhom he answered, If I would haue put in those vvordes, I had been discharged almost two yeres since. Then the Sherife said, You are a traitor if you deny that. M. Cottam said, No: that is a matter of faith, and vnles it be for my conscience and faith, I neuer offended her Maiestie. & vvith that he looked vp to heauen, and praied secretly, and vttered these vvordes. *In te domine speravi, non confundar in eternum. O domine tu plura pro me passus es &c.* twice more repeating *plura*.

Then the Sherife said to him. Yet Cottam cal for mercie and confesse, and no dout the Q. vvill be merciful vnto you. Vvhich answered, my conscience geueth me a cleere testimonie, that I neuer offeded her: to vvhom he vvished as much good as to his ovvne soule, vvwhose estat he so fauored and honored, that for al the gold vnder the cope of heauen he would not vvish that any on heare of her head should perish to do her harme. And that al that here he did suffer, was for sauing his soule, desiring almightie

INNOCENCE.

By this it is evident, that al vvvas for religion, and not at al for treason.

That is, O Lord, thou hast suffered more for me.

A warning,  
That the  
shedding of  
innocent  
blood, crieth  
veengeance  
against the  
realme.

The maner  
and order  
of his apprehension.

almightie God for his sweete Sonnes sake, that he  
would vouchsaſſe to take him to his mercie, ſay-  
ing, that him onely he had offended deſiring God,  
that if there were any more vnſpoken which were  
conuenient to be ſpoken, that he would put it into  
his minde now. And then he praied, deſiring al  
the whole world of forgiuenes, and that he, did  
from the bottom of his hart forgiue al. Adding  
that the ſinnes of this realme hath deſerued infinite  
punishment and Gods iult indignation: deſiring  
him of his mercie, that he would turne his wrath  
from them, and cal them to repentance to ſee and  
acknowledge their ſinnes. And deſiring al Catho-  
likes to pray with him, after he had ſaid his *Pater  
noſter*, and in his, *Aue*, the carte was driuen away,  
and ſo hanged til he was dead: and being ſtripped  
naked as he lianged, within his ſherte he did were a  
ſhert without ſleues of very courſe canuas dovvne  
beneath his midle. Vvhich belike was a ſherte of  
heere, for the punishment of his body: wherevvith  
England is not now acquainted.

And becauſe the order and maner of M. Cottams  
firſt apprehenſion wil cleere him from al ſuſpition  
of treaſon and treacherie, and yeld an inuincible  
argument of loyaltie and innocencie: I wil ſet it  
downe briefly, but yet truely, to the great cōtenta-  
tion and ſatiſfaction of al good Catholikes, and to  
the confuſion and ignominie of al our bloudy per-  
ſecutors and aduerſaries.

**S L E D D** that Notorius varlet, and infamous  
Iudas (I wil not ſay wicked homicid) hauing en-  
tered to worke ſome miſcheſe: came from Rome in  
the company of diuers English men, whoſe names  
and markes he toke very diligently: & being come  
to Lions, found M. Cottam there (who hauing  
entered into the ſocietie of the name of *I e s u s* at  
Rome, and being there fallen into a conſuming  
and lingering ſicknes, was by his ſuperiors ſent to  
Lions

Lions, to trie if by change of aire he might be recovered, but the sicknes so grevve & encreased vpon him, that he vvas made an vnhabable and vnfitte man for them, and therevpon they dismissed him) and traauiling in his company for some daies ioruneis, vnderstood of him belike that he ment very shortly to repair home to his natie countrey: wherevpon Sledd tooke his markes more exactly and precisely, and being arriued at Paris, there he presented the L. Embassador, with the names and markes he had taken. Vwho sent them ouer to the Q. Counsel, and from them they were sent to the searchers of the portes. M. Cottam son after his arriual at Rhemes, being a Deacon, and a good preacher long before, was made Priest, & hearing of company that were ready to goe into England, made great hast to goe with them, and earnest shute to haue leaue, partly for his health, & specially for the great zeal he had to gaine & saue soules. He arriued at Douer about the xvj or xviii day of Iune in the yere 1580, in the company of M. Iohn Hart & M. Edvvard Rishton two lerned Priests (which both are also condemned) and an other lay man.

After these iiii had bene searched vnto their skinnēs, and nothing found vpon them, and M. Harte staied and taken for M. Orton (to whom he nothing at al resembled) M. Cottam was likewise staied, by reason the markes which Sledd had giuen of him, were in deede very cleere & apparēt in him. And for the auoiding of charges, one Allen then Maior of Douer, & Steuens the searcher requested the lay man M. Cottams companion, who named him self Hauard, to cary him as a prisoner to my L. Cobhame: who agreed very easily therevnto. But asone as they were out of the tovvne, I can not in conscience, nor wil not (quoth Hauard) being my self a Catholike, deliuer you a Catholike Priest, prisoner to my L. Cobham. But we wil straight to London, and when you come there,

The cause of  
M. Cottams  
coming out  
of the Socie-  
tie, & of his  
retorne to  
England.

M. Cottam  
staied at the  
port.

The cause of  
M. Cottam  
being taken  
and the order  
of his escape  
and the  
order of  
his escape  
and the  
order of  
his escape

He was a  
man of a  
maruelous  
zele, and of  
a timorous  
conscience.

shifte you for your self, as I wil do for my self. Com-  
ming to London, M. Cottam repaired incontinent to  
one of the prisons and there conferred with a Ca-  
tholike a frende of his, recounting vnto him, the  
order and maner of his apprehension and escape,  
his frende told him, that in conscience, he could  
not make that escape, & perswaded him, to goe &  
yeld him self prisoner. Vwherevpon he came to his  
frende Hauard and requested him, to deliuer him  
the Maior of Douers lettre to my L. Cobham.

Vwhat wil you do with it (quoth Hauard) Mary  
(quoth Cottam) I wil goe and carie it to him, and  
yeld my self prisoner, for I am fully perswaded,  
that I can not make this escape in conscience. why  
(quoth Hauard) this counsel that hath bene giuen  
you procedeth I cōfesse from a zelous minde, mary  
I doute whether it carieth the waight of know-  
ledge with it: you shal not haue the letter, nor  
you may not in conscience yeld your self to the  
persecutor and aduersarie hauing so good meanes  
offered to escape their crueltie. But M. Cottam  
persisting stil in his demaund, wel (quoth Hauard)  
seeing, you wil not be distorned from this opinio,  
let vs goe first and consult with such a man (naming  
one but nevvly cummen then into the realme,  
whom M. Cottam greatly honoured and reueren-  
ced, for his singular witte and learning, for his rare  
vertues, and other giftes both of body and minde)  
and if he be of your opinion, you shal haue the  
letter and goe on Gods name. Vwhen they came  
to this man he vtterly disliked of his intention, and  
dissuaded him from so found a cogitation. M. Cot-  
tam being assvaged but not altogether satisfied,  
went quietly about his busines, and neuer voided  
London for the matter. The Maior of Douers  
letter being sent backe vnto him againe, with in ij  
or iij. daies after commeth vp the host of the inne  
where M. Cottam was taken.

This

This host by chaunce met with (Hauard) and taking him by the shulder said, Gentilman you had like to haue vndonne me, because the prisoner you promised to deliuer is eskaped. Vwherefore you must come with me to one M. Andrevves my L. Cobhams Deputie who lieth at the starre in new fish street, and giue him satisfaction in the matter. This good fellow Hauard, was somevwhat amased at this sodaine summoning, but after a while being come againe to him self, saith: why my host if I doe deliuer you the prisoner againe, you wil be cōtented. yes saith the other, deliuer me the prisoner, & I haue nothing to say to you: vpo this they went to M. Cottams lodging, but he was remoued the folkes of the house knew not whither. The host would faine haue had this Hauard, so called for the time, to goe with him to the said Andrevves. & Hauard sought al meanes to auoid his cōpany, being sure, that if he had once cumme with in the persecutors paynes, he should not haue eskaped the so easily, & being as then loth to fall into further trouble, saith to the other, My host there is no such necessitie why I should goe to M. Andrevves, for if I did, peraduenture he would picke some quarrel vnto me by reason of the prisoners esCAPE, & I might come by trouble, & you should reape no gaine or profit thereby. I would be loth therefor to goe vnto him.

But this I wil doe for your discharge, I wil bring you to a marchant, who I thinke wil giue you his hād, that I shal bring you the prisoner by iiij of the clocke, or els, that I shal deliuer you my body againe. I am content saith he, so that I haue the one of you tvvoe. to the marchant they come who at his brother law Hauards request, gaue his hand and promise for the performance of the condition before specified (which promis albeit, it was performed, yet it cost the marchant viij monethes imprisonment aftervvard: but how iustly, wil be

one day examined before the iust iudge) this Hauard leuing his host in the marchants hovvse went furth into the citie with a nother in his company to see if he could meet with M. Cottam.

A charitable  
deliberatio,  
& most cha-  
ritable reso-  
lution.

And comming into cheapside there by chaunce he meet him. and after ordinary salutations he said, M. Cottam such a man is come to rovyne, and hath so seized vpon me for your escape that you or I must needes goe to prison: you know my state and condition, and may gesse how gently I shal. be intreated if I once appeare vnder my right name: before them, your ovvne state also you know. Now it is in your choise whether of vs shal goe, for one must goe there is no remedie, and to force you I wil not, for I had rather sustaine what punishment soeuer. M. Cottam lifting vp his cies and handes to heaven said these wordes: Now God be blessed, I should neuer while I liued haue bene without scruple and gruge of conscience if I had escaped from them. nothing greueth me, but that I haue not dispatched some busines that I haue to do. why (quoth Hauard) it is but x of the clocke yet, and you may dispatch your busines by iiij of the clocke, and then you may goe to them. Vvither as it saith he that I must goe to the signe of the starre (quoth Hauard) in Nevv fish-streat, and there you must enquire for one M. Andrevves my L. Cobhams deputie, to him you must yeld your self. I vvill quoth he. and so they departed and neuer savv one the other after.

This doth  
proue his in-  
nocencie in-  
vincibly.

And so at iiij of the clocke after he had dispatched al his busines, he vvvent him self al alone to the place appointed, & there yelded him self prisoner, and vvvas carried to the Court lying then at None. such or Otlands, from vvhen (after five daies conference vvith diuers ministers that laboured, but in vaine, to subuert him) he vvvas sent to the Marshalsee for religion, and not for treason. and from

from thence to the Towver, there to be racked, not  
for to reueile any secret treason as the aduersaries  
pretend ful falsly, but tormented because he would  
not confesse his priuat sinnes vnto them, as he both  
confidently and truly affirmed to their faces at his  
arraignment. and so leed to vvestminster & there  
vnjustly cōdemned: and as you haue heard traile  
to Tiborne, vvhē he & the rest, vvere cruelly mur-  
dered. ending this miserable life by a constant &  
glorious Martyrdom. & now doth follow the im-  
maculat Lambe. To vvhom be al honor & glorie  
for the constancie of these his Saints. Amen.

*The order of the arraignment and Martyrdom  
of M. Iohn Paine Priest. 2.*

*Aprilis. 1582.*

**T**HE 20. of March 1582. Sir Ouyne  
Hopton Lieutenant of the Towver,  
came to M Paines chamber dore, and  
by knocking raised him out of his  
bed: vvhō had much vvatched before  
and prouoked him halfe ready to come forth, not  
telling him to vvhat end: but aftervvard aduer-  
tised hovv the matter stode, and perceiuing that  
he was to be removed, he desired leaue to retorne  
into his chamber to make him selfe ready and to  
seatch his purse, which he had left behinde him,  
but it vvould not be graunted, but he commaun-  
ded him to be deliuered to certaine officers there  
attending, as he said for his conducting to Essex,  
appointed by the cheefe of the councel. M. Paine  
in his cassocke onely, went forvvard with them,  
beeing the more gently dealt with, that he vvās  
not bound at al.

The key of  
the doore  
vvās taken  
from the  
keeper, and  
the L. Hoptō  
after her fa-  
shion sealed  
on the purse  
per vsurpationem.

On Thursday at night his name vvās recited  
with about 13. witches, other murderers and the-  
eues. On Friday about 10. of the cloke, he vvās  
arraigned after this maner.

As our Savi-  
our, Cum ini-  
quis deputasus  
est &c.

First his endightemēt was read viz. that *M. Paine* should vtter to *Eliot* at a certaine Christemas lying with him in his chamber, that many deuises haue been heretofore concerning the chang of religion, and yet none haue prosperously succeeded: but of al others this seemeth the best, vvhich I haue heard (quoth he) sometime mentioned of the Earle of *Vvestmerland*, *D. Allen*, and *D. Bristovve*, that so. men wel appointed with priuy coates, and dagges, should elpie some opportunitie vvhē the Queene were at progresse, and sleie the Queenes Maiestie, the E. of *Leicester* and *M. Vvalsingham*, and then to proclaime the Queene of Scottes Q. also that it should be no greater an offence to kill the Queene, then to dispatche a brute beaste.

As though the Catho-likes vvhould care for these, if her M. were dead.

This poore captiue ladie is touched in al these forgeres of purpose to make her odious.

This being read, *M. Paine* denied the endightement, and defied al treason. Protesting that he alwayes in minde & worde honored the Queenes Maiestie aboue any woman in the world, that he would gladly alwayes haue spent his life for her pleasure in any lawfull seruice, that he praied for her, as for his ovne soule: that he neuer inuented or compassed any treason against her Maiestie or any of the nobilitie of England.

Either great simplicitie or great deceit, to say that in taking orders they sweare to the Pope Persons are named that the lie may seeme more probable.

Then *M. Morice* the Queenes counseller, on the parte of her Maiestie began to proue *M. Paine* to be a traitor two waies, by presumption and deposition. The presumption was gathered, for that about v. yerres past, he went beyond the seas and returned againe speedely. Secondly, because he vvas made Priest of the Bishope of Cambray, and so had sworne him selfe to the Pope, vvhō is our most open ennemy. Thirdly, that he had speach with traitors in Flaunders, with the E. of *Vvestmerland* *D. Allen*, and *D. Bristovve*. Fourthly that he trauailed vvhith a traitors sonne, *M. Vvilliam Tempest*. The deposition was of *Eliots* othe, and his ovne confession on the racke. Consequently

*Eliot*

*Eliots* svvore that the endightement vvas true, and *M. Paines* confession was read.

This being donne, *M. Paine* answered to the presumptions, saying, that to goe beyond the seas was not a sufficient token of a traitor, neither to be made Priest of the Biſhope of Cambray: for so were many others, nothing at al thinking of treason, confessing also that he vvas not the Popes scholler, neither had any maintenaunce of him. To the third he answered, that he neuer talked with the Earle of *Westmerland*, and that *D. Allen* and *D. Bristowe* neuer talked to his knowvledg of any such thinges. To the fourth, That *M. Tempest* was an honest gentelman, and neuer talked with him about treason, neither was it vnlawvfull to keepe him companie, seeing that he was seruant to a right honorable counseller, *Sir Christopher Hatton*.

Vvhen he vvas of the seminarie, it had no pension of the Pope.

It should A  
notion

2nd Edition  
2nd Edition  
2nd Edition  
2nd Edition  
2nd Edition

1 Elizab. 6.  
13 Elizab. 1.  
1 Ed. c. 12.

Vvhat kinde  
of men the  
persecutors  
procure to  
be vvitnesses  
against God  
Priest.

1st Edition  
2nd Edition  
3rd Edition  
4th Edition  
5th Edition

He refelled *Eliots* deposition, first, taking God to witnes, on his soule that he neuer had such speech with him. Secondly he brought tvvoe places of Scripture, and a statute to proue, that vvithout twoe sufficient vvitnesses, no man should be condemned. the scriptures are. 10. 8. v. 17. *The testimonie of tvvo men is true.* and Deut. 17. v. 6. *In the mouth of tvvo or three vvitnesses shal he perishe, vvwhich shal be put to death. let no man be put to death one only beeing vvitness against him.* Thirdly, he proued *Eliot* insufficient to be a witnes, for oppression of poore men euen to death, for a Rape, and other manifest levvde actes with women, for breach of cōtracte, for cozoning the *L. Peter* of Money, for changing oste his religion, for malice against him self, for being attached of murder, and such like actes, after he made a long discourse of *Eliots* dessembling, vvhen he came to *Mr Moores* for him with a warrant, inducing him to warvvicksheere about his marriage.

Herevpon a Iury vvas impanneld, vvho on

C iiij

friday

ed mody  
ed to ray  
al, bnt am  
-ag on bar  
ed to non  
lob

A blessed re-  
solution.

nether Eliots  
othe, nor the  
Iuries verdit  
shal excute  
the iudge be-  
for God.

The people  
are made be-  
leeue, that  
Catholikes  
put not their  
vwhole trust  
in Christ.

Thos men  
are no fit  
matter for  
Ministers to  
vvorke on;  
persons ladē  
vwith sinne  
are subiect  
to their per-  
suasions.

friday after dinner brought euidence that he was guilty. Vpō Saturday a littel befor dinner cōming againe to the barre, iudge *Gandy* asked *M. Paine* vvhath he could say for him selfe. Vvho answered that he had said sufficiently, alledging that it vvas against the lavv of God and man that he should be condemned for on mans witnes, notoriously infamous. Then the iudge said that if he were not guilty the countrey would haue found it. *M. Paine* answered, that those men of the Iury were poore simple men, nothing at al vnderstanding what treason is, and that he had demaunded the definition of conspiracie before of *M. Morice* and them, which they would not geue, but if it please the Queene and her councel, that I shal die, I referre my cause to God. Then the iudge said that his ovne vvordes made most against him, and if *Eliot* had svvorne falsly, his death should be required at his handes, the vvchich no man knevve but God and him selfe. *M. Paine* said, that al was but trecherie in seaking of his bloode. In fine iudge *Gandy* pronouced the sentence of condemnatiō: and after vvarde exhorted him to repent him selfe, although said he, you may better instructe me her- in. *M. Paine* demaunded the time when he should suffer, it was answered, on Munday followving about 8. of the clocke.

After that he was returned to prison, the highe Sherife and others came to him and demannded. Vvwhether he made **I E S U S C H R I S T** the only cause of his saluation, to whom he answered affirmatiuely, professing vnto them the Catholike veritie. Al sunday till v. of the clocke, one *D. Vyithers*, and *D. Sone* were with him, perswading him earnestly to chang his religion, the which (said they) if you wil alter, we doute not to procure mercie for you. This *M. Paine* told me him selfe, for no body was suffered to come vnto them

them, saying that the Ministers by their foolish babbling did much vex & trouble him. I amongst many comming vnto him about x. of the clocke with the officers, he most comfortably & meekely vttered vvordes of constancie vnto me, and vvith a louing kisse tooke his leaue of me.

The next Morning the ij of April about 8. of the clocke he was laide on the hurdel, and brought to the place of execution, where kneeling almost halfe an houre, he earnestly praied, arising, and vevving the galloes, he kissed it with a smiling countenance, ascended, and the halter being applied, he lifted vpe vp his eies and handes to vvardes heauen a pretie while the beganne to speake to the people: first, he made vnto them a declaration of his faith (because he was before enformed by me, that the common people thought him to be a Iesuit, whose opinion they say is, *That Christ is not God*) confessing one God in essence or substance, and Trinitie in persons, and the vvORDS to be incarnat for mans redemption, with other Catholike wordes. Secondly, he desired God to forgiue him his life past, and to haue mercy on all sinners. Thirdly, he forgaue al which euer had offended him, naming *Eliot*, whom he desired God most earnestly to make with him a companiō in heauenly blisse. Fourthly, he said that his secte did neuer treade, his handes did neuer write, nor his witte did neuer inuente any treason against her Maiestie: but that he alvvayes wished vnto her as to his ovvne soule, desiring almightie God, to giue her in earth a prosperouse raigne, and after-vvarde eternal felicitie.

The Lord Rich willed him to confesse that he there died a traitor: and to be sorry therefore. To vvhom very patiently he answered, that he defied all treason, and to confesse an vnruth was to condemne his ovvne soule. I Confesse truly said he that

By such lying means the ministers beguile the people.

Vvonderful Charitie.

INNOCENCE.

He confessed a trev confessiō of his innocency before.

that I die a Christian Catholike Priest. And desired  
 Good Lord the *L. Rich* to beare witness of his death, saying,  
 giue her his *Sweete my Lorde certifie her Maiestie thereof, that she*  
 grace & her *suffer not hereafter innocent blood to be cast away, seeing*  
 counsel to *it is no smal matter.* Then a Minister with an admi-  
 consider of *the matter.* ratiue replie, said to the people, that in these vvor-  
 des he shevved him selfe a great traitor, because

These Mini-  
 sters truly  
 are mad fel-  
 lowes.

A pretie con-  
 ceit to etrap  
 the innocent  
 man? they  
 sport the fel-  
 lowes with in-  
 nocent mens  
 blood.

The Mini-  
 sters spoke.

There vvas  
 nothing pro-  
 ued but that  
 these were  
 false vvit-  
 nesses.

The diuel is  
 a lier & the  
 author of  
 these lies that  
 his ministers  
 vtter.

(quoth he) this man saith, that if the Queene  
 touch the annointed of the Pope, she sheddeth  
 innocent blood. *M. Paine* turning vnto him said,  
 Truly you deale very vncharitably with me, for  
 saith he, I desired my lorde to speake vnto her Ma-  
 iestic, that she suffer not innocent blood to be  
 cast away, and then vttered his great affection to  
 the Queene. In course of talke, my *L. Rich* said:  
*Paine* haue you not had alwayes desire to spende  
 your life, for the Queenes deatch? *M. Paine* then  
 was in contemplation, and not hearing, answered  
 not: if perchance he had answered affirmatiuely  
 (not thinking of the word *death*, put so sophis-  
 tically in the last place, but of *health*) then God (to  
 vyhom al mens intentions lie open) knowveth  
 what the aduersarie would haue gathered thereof.  
 A Minister said, that although he denied this trea-  
 son, yet for al that he was a traitor, for said he,  
*Campion* and his company denied their treason,  
 and yet it vvas by more then twoue witnesses pro-  
 ued vnto them. *M. Paine* answered, that imme-  
 diatly before their execution he demaunded of  
 them if these accusations of treasons had any gro-  
 unde? they said by their faith that it vvas neuer  
 imagined, nor hard of by them. Then the Minister  
 said *M. Harte* had confessed it: he answered that  
 he vvould defende no mans doings but his owne  
 and that he knewe not thereof: straight waies  
 they affirmed that he confessed such treason to the  
*L. Poole*, he said that he knewe her not. Then the  
 Minister inferred that his brother confessed to him

in his chamber seuen yeres agoe that he talked of  
such an intentiō. To this he answered being som-  
ewhat moued: *Bone Deus* My brother is, and al-  
waies hath been a very earnest protestant, whom  
yet I knowe vwill not say so falsely of me, and then  
desired that his brother should be sent for: they  
called for him, but then he was in the towne  
(vwhen a sort of vs came from the execution we  
found his brother in our Inne, of vvhō vve asked  
if this was true, vuttering vnto him al the matter:  
he swore vnto vs with great admiration, that it  
vvas most false, and tolde vs that he vwould so  
certify my L. Rich, immediatly he vvas sent for to  
my lorde, and I tooke horse to ride avway, and  
thereof as yet here no more.)

To conclude they vwould not tarry so longe til  
his brother should be sent for: M. Paine often con-  
fessed that he died a Christian Catholike Priest.  
They desired M. Paine to pray vvith thē in English  
but he vvas attentiuē to his ende in cōtemplation,  
and being often called on, by the Ministers to  
ioyne vvith thē in the lords praier, he said, that he  
had praied in a tonge which he wel vnderstood:  
and againe when he was praying, repeating their  
former requestes, one answered that he then praied  
in English, perhapps to satisfie the people: for he  
hard not a vvorde. After M. Paine told them that  
he said our lordes praier three times, and told them  
that he would say the Psalme *Miserere*, and said it  
forth. The Minister asked him vvwhether he repen-  
ted not that he had said Masse, but he heard him  
not, being in contemplation.

If heretikes  
had any re-  
ligion they  
would neuer  
desire to  
pray vvith  
one of an  
other faith.

A vvise que-  
stion.

After all, very meekely vvhen the ladder was a-  
bout to be turned, he said, I E S V S, I E S V S, I E S V S,  
and so did hange not mouing hand or foote.  
They very courtesly caused men to hange on  
his fecete, and sette the knot to his care, and  
suffered him to hange to death, commaunding  
Bul

But the hangman of Nevvgate to dispatch, lest he should as they said reuiue, and rebuked him that he did not dispatch speedely. All the towne loued him exceedingly, the keepers and most of the Magistrats of the shere. No man seemed in countenance to mislike with him, but much sorowed and lamented his death, who most constantly, catholically patiently and meekely ended this mortal life, to rise triumphantly his innocency knowen to all the world.

He had been long in prison very ill vsed, cruelly handeled, and extremely racked, he was once or twise demaunded whether he would goe to their church (for that would haue made amendes for all these treasons) why? said he, you say I am in ser-treason, discharge me of that, and then you shal know farther of my minde for the other. Al faier meanes, al foule meanes, al extremitie, al pollicie, were vsed to finde that which was not. After his racking the Lieutenant sent to him for his farther examining or rather tormenting, his seruant vwith this letter following.

I haue here with, sent you pen, inke, and paper: and I pray you writte what you haue said to Eliot and to your Host in London, concerning the Queene and the state, and thereof faile not, as you will answer at your vttermost peril.

*M. Paines ansyver.*

**R**Ight worshipfull my deutie remembred, being not hable to writte without better handes, I haue by your appointment vsed the helpe of your seruant: for ansuvere vnto your interrogatories I haue already said sufficient for a man that regardeth his owne saluation, and that, with such aduised affeuerations vttered, as amongst christian men ought to

to be beleued, yet once againe briefly for obedient  
ce sake.

139

First touching her Maiestie, I pray God long to  
preserue her highnes to his honnor and her hartes  
desire, vnto whom I alwayes haue and during life  
wil wishe no worse, then to my ovyne soule. If  
her pleasure be not, that I shal liue and serue her  
as my soueraigne Prince: then wil I willingly die  
her faithful subiect, and I trust Gods true seruant.

Touching the state, I protest, that I am and  
ouer haue been free from the knowlledge of any  
practise whatsoeuer, either within or without the  
realme intended against the same: for the verity  
whereof, as I haue often before you, & the rest her  
graces commissioners called God to witness: so doe  
I now againe, and on day before his Maiestie the  
truth now not credited, wil be then reuealed.

For Eliot, I forgiue his monstrous wickednes,  
and defie his malicious inuentions: wishing, that  
his former behauiour towarde others, being wel  
knowen, as hereafter it wil, were not a sufficient  
disprose of these deuised sleanders.

For best or other person liuing, in London or  
els where (vnles they be by subornation of my  
blouddy ennemy corrupted) I know they can,  
neither for word, deede, or any disloyaultie iustly  
touch me, and so before the seat of God, as also  
before the sight of men, wil I ansver at my utter-  
most peril.

Her Maiesties faithful subiect and  
your worships humble prisoner

John Paine Priest.

THE

# THE ARRAIGNEMENT AND Martyrdom of M. Euerard Haunse Priest: vvhō vvas arraigned the xxviij Day of Iulie 1581. and Martyred the xxxi of the same Moneth.



**M**EVERARD HAVNSE sometime  
Minister of the Heretical service, and  
wel benefited, fel, by Gods providence  
and mercie towards him, into a greuous  
sicknes, in which as wel by that chastisement, as by  
some special miraculous admonitions from aboue,  
he beganne to consider of his former life, and the  
damnable state & function he was in. Vwherevpon  
calling for a Catholike Priest, he reconciled him  
self to the Church, forsooke the sacrilegious fun-  
ction of the Ministrie, abandoned his wrongfully  
gotten and holden benefice: and so passed over to  
Remes. Vwhere hauing liued nere ii yeres in most  
zelous and studious sort, and by that time through  
continual exercise wel instructed in cases of con-  
science, and al duties of Priesthod: he was for the  
vnspeakable desire he had to gaine both others, but  
specially some of his dearest friendes into the vnitie  
of the Church and saluation, much moued to be  
Priest and to retorne home.

The hereti-  
kes say he  
could not  
gett lerning  
inough to  
be a Priest  
so quickly,  
and yet they  
thought him  
lerned in-  
ough to be a  
Minister 4.  
or 5. yeres  
before.

He had his intent, and so came into England.  
Vwhere he had not been long, but aduenturing one  
day to goe visit certaine prisoners in the Marshal  
see: there he was apprehended, & being examined  
by an Officer, what he was, and from whence he  
came, without more adoe confessing boldly him  
self to be a Catholike, a Priest, and a Seminarie man  
of Rhemes: vvas therevpon cast into Nevv-gate  
amongest theeues and laden with yrons. And a  
few daies after, when the gaile deliuey of that pri-  
son was holden, he was brought to the barre with  
other

other malefactor. Vwhere *M. Flitvood* the recorder sitting in iudgement, asked him where he was made Priest, what was the cause of his comming into England, and the like. Vwhich the man of God maruelous resolute without feare or dissimulation told him. affirming the cause of his retorne to be to gaine soules, and that he was made Priest at Rhemes. Then (saith he) you are a subiect to the **P O P E**? so I am sir saith *M. Hanne*, to which *M. Flitvood* replied, then the **P O P E** hath some superioritie ouer you, that is true quoth he: what in England said the Recorder? yea in England saith he, for he hath as much authoritie and right in spirital gouernement in this realme as euer he had, and as much as he hath in any other countrie, or in Rome it self.

Vpon which most true and sincere confession, the Heretikes (as their fashion is to falsifie al things and by contriued sclaunders to to make odious the seruants of God) gaue out aftervvard in print that he should say, *That Princes had not any supreamie or souerantie in their owne realmes but the P O P E only:* which was far from his and euery Catholike mans minde. But vpon his former answer, to bring him by course of question into the compase of some of their new statutes of treason, they asked him further, whether he thought the **P O P E** could not erre? to which though he expressely answered, that in life and maners he might offend, & as in his private doctrine or vvriting erre also, yet as in iudicial definition and deciding matters of controuersie he did neuer erre. this plaine speach notwithstanding, the enemies gaue out, that he should say, *The Pope could not sinne.*

Then they proceeded with him further, and demanded whether the **p o p e** did not iudicially procede in the deposition of the Queene. And therevpon redde a peece of the Bul of *Pius quintus*, those

It is no temporal law that can take from him the right that Christ hath giuen him.

How heretikes bely the Catholikes.

How, where and vwhen, the Pope is free from error.

An other forgerie of the protestants.

In a matter  
of fact the  
Pope may  
be misinfor-  
med, or doe  
sometimes  
things, that  
are not pro-  
fitable for  
the Church,  
though it be  
a good mā-  
ner to trust  
that his chie-  
fe pastor do-  
eth al things  
wvith good  
considerati-  
on.

An other  
snare.

those wordes specially, in which he declared her  
to be an *Heretike*, and a fautor of Heretikes, and de-  
prived her of al regal authoritie & pretended right  
of these dominions, absolving al her subiects from  
her obedience. did he not erre quoth they in this?  
I hope said M. *Hausse* he did not. which tearme  
(I hope) he vsed purposely in this matter, and not  
any other asseueration, because *Pius quintus* his act  
was in this case not a matter of doctrine, but of  
fact. Vvherein he did not affirme, that the Pope  
could not erre. But to goe on stepe forvard, and  
to bring him into the compasse of the first statut  
of the last parlement, wherevpon they entended  
streight to endit him, M. *Recorder* asked whether  
he spake the foresaid thing to perswade other men  
that heard him, to be of his mind. I know not  
what you meane by perswading faith he, but I  
would haue al men to belecue the Catholike faith  
as I do.

That being done and said of each sid, order was  
giuen to one present, that vvas learned in the Law  
to dravve an endightement of treason against M.  
*Hausse*, vpo the new statut made in the last parlement  
which was out of hand done. The effect whereof  
was, that the said *Hausse*, being on of the Popes  
scollers and made Priest beyond the seas, was retor-  
ned to seduce the Q. M. subiects from their obe-  
dience, and that he had affirmed the Pope to be his  
Superior here in England, and had as much autho-  
ritie in spiritual gouernement wvith in this realme  
as cuer he had before: saying further, that he hoped  
*Pius quintus*, erred not in declaring her to be an  
*Heretike*, excommunicating & deposing her M. and  
discharging the subiectes from their othe and obe-  
dience tovvards her, acknowvledging, that he vt-  
tered so much to haue others thinke therein as he  
did &c. Vvwhich endightement being openly redd,  
and M. *Hausse* thereon arraigned, he was willed to  
hold

hold vp his hand: he held vp his left hand, where-  
 vpon the Recorder blamed him, attributing it to  
 some pride or superstition, that being a Priest he  
 would not vouchsafe or might not hold vp his  
 annointed right hand. but the truth was, he did it  
 for that his right hand was occupied in easing him-  
 self by holding vp the great boulders wherevith  
 the blessed man was exceedingly laden. for being  
 admonished, he forth with streached forth his  
 right hand.

And being asked whether he was guiltie of the  
 things contained in the indictment, after a few  
 wordes, wherein he said that he was not alto-  
 gether guiltie in those things as they there were  
 set dovyne, he yet acknowledged the substance of  
 the fence thereof with great courage and constan-  
 cie. Vwherevpon the sentence of death was pro-  
 nounced against him, in forme wel knowen to al  
 men. This done he was returned to the prison  
 from vvhence he came: vvhether Minister Crouley,  
 and others came to assay his constancie, but after  
 much talke and many persuasions to relent in some  
 point of religion, and to acknowledge his fault  
 towards her M. vvhon they say they could not  
 preuaile against the blessed Confessor, they forced  
 to his disgrace, and to make him odious. That he  
 should affirme to them in talke. *That was the*  
*Q. that no sinne before God.* Vvhich sclander they  
 were not ashamed to put out in print.

Vpon the last of July 1581. he was drawen to  
 Tyborne vvhare being put into the cart, with  
 cheereful countenance he professed him self to  
 be a Catholike Priest, and most glad to dye for te-  
 stimonie thereof. And being willed to aske the  
 Q. mercie, and demaunded whether he took her  
 for his prince and soueraigne: he answered, that he  
 did take her for his Q. and that he neuer offended  
 her M. otherwise then in matters of his conscience,

D

which

which they haue drayven to matters of treason. And whereas saith he, I vnderstand it hath been geuen forth that I should say, *Treason was no offence to God*: I protest, I neither meant nor said any more, but that these heve made treasons, which are nothing els in deed, but the confession of the Catholike points of religion, vvere no offences to God howsoever they vvere treasons to man.

THE the Ministers called vpo him to pray with them, and to desire the people to assist him. He answered, that he might not pray vvith *Heretikes*, but desired humbly al Catholikes to pray for him, and vvith him. And so praying deuoutely to him self, the cartt vvas dravven away, and before he was half dead, the rope vvas cut, and he bowvelled a hue, and aftervvard quartered, a spectacle of great edification to the good, and a wonder to euery one that looked vpon it.

*The copie of a letter sent by the said Martyr to his brother.*

**B**ROTHER, I pray you be careful for my parents, see them instructed in the way of truth, so that you be careful for your owne state also. Vvhat you shall take in hand that way, thinke no other, but God will send good successe, my prayers shall not be wanting to aide you by Gods grace. Geue thanks to God for all that he hath sent, cast not your selfe into dangers wilfully, but pray to God vvhen occasion is offered, you may take it vvith patience.

The comforts, at the present instant are vnspcakable, the dignitie so high for a sinner, but God is merciful. Bestowve my things you find vngewen away, vpon my poore knisfolkes. A paire of pantbills I leaue vvith M.N. For my mother. Twentie shillings,

Shillings; I would haue you borrow on them from  
me, if you can make so much conveniently, some I  
haue leste with M. N. I ouve Ten shillings, and  
two shillings, I pray you see it paid, M. N. wil  
let you vnderstand haue, and to v whom, if you  
want money to discharge it, send to my frendes  
you know where, in my name. *Summa Concilio*  
I pray you restore to M. B. the other bookes you  
knowe to whom they belongeth, and diue vnto  
me. Haue me commended to my frends, let them  
thinke I wil not forget them. The day and houre  
of my birth is at hand, and my Masse faith, *Tolle  
crucem tuam & sequere me. Vale in domino.*

After vve  
had ended  
the historie  
of these xij  
MARTYRS,  
which at the  
beginning  
vve ment on  
ly to write  
of, we vvere  
desired to  
add also sij  
others that  
suffered for  
the same  
quarrel these  
yeres past.

The order  
of his appe-  
arance

truly  
beloued

Yours Euerard Hauise  
*Prodit vbi*

**THE ARRANGEMENT AND  
Martyrdom of M. Cuthbert Maine Priest, and  
Bachelor of Divinitie, Martyred the 19 of  
Novemb. 1577.**

**I**N the yere 1577 and the moneth of  
June the Superintendent of Excester  
being in visitation at a towne called  
S. Trurie, vvas requested by the Sheriffe  
of the Shere and other Bure men, that  
he would aide and assist them to search M. Tre-  
gians house, where M. Maine did lye: after some  
deliberation it was concluded that the Sheriffe,  
the B. Chauncellor vwith diuers gentlemen and  
their seruants should take the matter in hand.

Asone as they came to M. Tregians house the  
Sheriffe first spake vnto him, saying, that he and his  
company were come to search for one M. Bourne  
which had committed a fault in London, and so  
fled into Cornevall; and vvas in his house as he  
vvas enformed. M. Tregian answering that he  
D. ij. vvas

was not there, and swearing by his faith that he did not knowe where he was, further telling him, to have his howse searched, he thought it great discourteise, for that he was a gentilman as he was, for he did account his howse as his castel, also stoutely denying them, for that they had no commission from the Prince.

The Sherife being very bold, because he had a great company with him, swore by al the othes he could deuise, that he would search his howse or els he would kil or be killed, holding his hand vpon his dagger, as though he would haue stabbed it into the Gentilman.

At this time  
the Gentilman  
was in his  
chamber.

Which time  
beginning  
to weep  
for his  
misfortune  
he said  
to himselfe  
that he  
was a  
foole  
to be  
thus  
treated.

The order  
of his  
carriage.

So he  
was  
carried  
to the  
superinten-  
dent.

Cruelly im-  
prisoned.

This violence being vsed he had leaue to search the house, the first place they vvent vnto was M. Maines chamber, which being fast shut, they bounsed and beat at the dore, M. Maine came & opened it (being before in the garden, where he might haue gone from them) as sone as the Sherife came into the chamber, he toke M. Maine by the bolowe and said vnto him, what art thou, he answered, I am a man, whereat the Sherife being very hot, asked whether he had a coat of maile vnder his dublet, and so vnbuted it, and found an AGONY DART case about his necke, which he toke from him and called him traitor & rebel, with many other opprobrious names.

They carried him, his bookes, papers, and letters, to the superintendent who when he had talked with him and examined him of his religion, he confessed that he was learned, and had gathered very good notes in his bookes, but no fauour he shewved him. Thence the Sherife carried him from one Gentilmans howse, to an other, vntil he came to Lanstone, where he was cruelly emprisoned, being chained to his bedde posts with a paire of great giues about his legges, and strait commandement giuen that no man should repaire vnto him.

Thus

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That he remained in prison from June til Michaelmas, at what time the iudges came their circuit, the Duke of Bedford was also present at M. Maine's arraignment and did deale most in the matter. He was endited for hauing a Bul, Holy grainer and an Agnus Dei, vy which was against their hethenish Rites. M. Maine answered negatively to every point of the enditement, and did proue it very well, if they had not been blinded with malice and enuie. The Iurie that went vpon him were chosen men for the purpose, and thought him worthy of death vy whether there came any prooffe against him or no, because he was a Catholike Priest, such is their euangelical conscience. After the twelve had geuen their verdict guiltie, the Iudges gaue sentence on him that he should be executed within xij. daies, but it was deferred vntil S. Andreyves day vpon what occasion I knowv not.

The Sherife in the meane time went to the court where he was made knight for this notable peece of seruice, and there he procured a commission that M. Maine might be executed, which he sent into the countrey to the Iustices. Three daies befor he was put to death, there came a seruing man vnto him, and villed him to prepare for death, for saith he, you are to be executed within these three daies at the farthest. Vvhich gentil admonition M. Maine toke very thankfully, and said to the seruinge man, that if he had any thing to geue, he would rather bestowv it vpon him, then on any other, for he had done more for him then euer any man did.

After that aduertisment he gaue him self earnestly to praier and contemplation vntil his death. The second night after he gaue him self to these spiritual exercises, there was seen a great light in his chamber, betwene twelve & one of the clocke, in so much that some of the prisoners that lay in the next romes, called vnto him to knowv what it

was for they know very well that he had neither  
fire nor candle) he answered, willinge them to  
quiet them selves, for it did nothing appertaine  
vnto them.

The Mini-  
sters dispute  
vvith him.

At the day of his execution many Iustices and  
Gentlemen came to see him, & brought with them  
two proud Ministers, which did dispute vvith  
him, whom he did confute in euery point: but the  
Iustices and Gentlemen who vvere blind iudges  
in their doings, vvould heare nothing of that, but  
they affirmed that the ignorant Ministers vvere  
much better learned then he, albeit they confesse  
he died very stoutely, whereas they did much man-  
uall, saying to the ignorant people, that he could  
auouch no scripture for his opinion, which vvvas  
most vnttrue, for I know by the report of honest  
men that vvere present, that he did confirme euery  
point in question vvith testimonies of scriptures  
and doctors, and that abundantly.

A barbarous  
request.

Mr. Maine  
humilitie.

This ended, he vvvas to be dravven a quarter of  
a mile to the place of execution, and vvhen he was  
to be laid on the sled, some of the Iustices moued  
the Sherifes depute, that he vvould cause him to  
haue his head laid ouer the carre, that it might be  
dashed against the stones in drawing: and Mr. Maine  
offered himself that it might be so, but the Sherifes  
depute vvould not suffer it.

A Protestants  
spirit.

Vvhen he came to the place of execution he  
kneled downe and prayed: as he was on the ladder  
and the rope about his necke, he vvould haue  
spoken to the people, but the Iustices vvould not  
suffer him, but willed him to say his prayers, which  
he did very deuoutely. And as the hangeman was  
about to turne the ladder, one of the Iustices spake  
to him in this manner. Now villaine and traitor  
thou knowest that thou shalt dye, and therefore  
tel vs whether M. Tregian and Sir Iohn Arundel  
did know of these thinges which thou art con-  
demned

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demned for, and also what thou dost know by  
them.

M. *Maine* answered him againe very mildly  
saying, I do know nothing by M. *Tregier* and  
S. *John Arundel*, but that they be good, and godly  
Gentlemen, and as for the thinges I am condemned  
for, they were onely knowen to me, and to no  
other, then he was cast of the ladder, saying, *In*  
*hustias* &c, and knocking his breast.

Some of the Gentlemen would haue had him cut  
dovne straight way that they might haue had him  
quartered aliue, but the Sherifes deputie would  
not, but let him hang til he was dead. After he was  
quartered, one quarter was sent to S. *Probus* where  
he was taken, an other to wade-brig, the third to  
*Bastable* in Deuonsheir where he was borne, the  
fourth and his head remaine in *Lanslone* where he  
was executed.

This B. man M. *Maine* borne in *Bastable* in  
Deuonsheir, had an old Schismatical Priest to his  
uncle, and well beneficed, who being very desirous  
to leaue his benefice to this his Nephew, brought  
him vp at scholle, & when he was xviii or xix yeres  
old, got him to be made Minister: at what time  
(as M. *Maine* him self with great sorow and deepe  
sighes did often tel me) he knew neither what  
Ministrie nor religion meant. Being sent after to  
Oxford, he heard his course of logike in *Alborne*  
hal, and there proceeded Bachiler of Art.

At that time S. *Johns* Colledge wanted some  
good fellow to play his part at the communion  
table, to play which part M. *Maine* was inuited and  
hired. in which Colledge and function he liued  
many yeres, being of so milde a nature, and of such  
syweet behauiour, that the Protestants did greatly  
loue him, & the Catholikes did greatly pietie him,  
seeing so honest a nature cast away vpon so con-  
temptible a function, in so much that some dealing

with him, and aduertising him of the damnable  
state he stood in, he was easily perswaded their  
doctrine to be heretical, and vwithal brought to  
knownt and deplore his ovne miserable state and  
condition.

The drier  
munion,  
A vvest sup-  
per rightly  
called.

And so being in hart and minde a perswaded Ca-  
tholike, continued yet in the same Colledg for some  
yeres and there proceeded M. of Art: and every sun-  
day gave them a drie comunion. for as I thinke he  
neuer gave them the *vvest supper* but once, at what  
time al the communicants put that prophane bread  
into their bosomes and did cast it aftervvard, either  
to dogges or vpon the donghil. As M. Read then  
a hote Protestant and one of these communicants,  
now a great preacher and my *L. Treasurers* chaplen  
can best tell you.

Some of his familiars being already beyond the  
seas for their conscience, did oft solicit him by let-  
ters to leaue that damnable function of the Mini-  
strie, and invited him to come to Dowvay: one of  
these letters by chaunce fel into the superintenders  
hands of London, who dispatched a pursueant  
straight to Oxford for M. Maine and some others,  
the rest appeared, and were sent to prison, but by  
chaunce M. Maine was then in his countrey, and  
being aduertised by his countreiman and friend M.  
Ford (then fellow of Trinitie Colledg in Oxford,  
and of late Martyred) that there was processe out  
for him, he toke shipping on the coast of Cornvval  
and so vvent to Dowvay when the Seminary there  
was but newly erected.

He vvent to  
Dowvay.

Made Bachi-  
ler of Diui-  
nitie.

Vwhere falling to Diuinitie, and keeping the  
priuat exercises within the house diligently, and  
doing the publike exercises in the scholles vwith  
commédation, after some yeres proceeded Bachiler  
of Diuinitie, & was made Priest. & desirous partly  
to honor God in this sacred order, and to satishe  
for that he had dishonored him by taking the sa-  
criste

erflegions title of Ministrie, partly inflamed with  
zeal to save Soules, he returned towards England  
together with M. John Paine who was since Mar-  
tyred the 14. of April in the yere, 1576. M. Maine  
placed him self in his ovvne countrey with a Ca-  
tholike & vertuous Gentilman M. Tregian, vvhether  
he had not been a full yere but he was taken in the  
order aboue specified.

Vvhen the aduersarie made M. Maine this proffer,  
to haue his life, if he would swveare vpon a  
booke that the Q. was supreme head of the Church  
of England, and if he did refuse, then to be hanged  
dravven and quartered: he tooke the Bible into his  
hands, made the signe of the Crosse vpon it, kissed  
it, and said, *The Queene neither ever vvas, nor is, nor ever*  
*shal be, the head of the Church of England.* A most true  
othe.

*The Arraignement and condemnation of M. John Nelson  
Priest, vvho vvas Martyred the 29. of February  
the yere M. D. lxxvij.*

**H**is vertuous Priest M. Nelson was  
taken in London vpon the first of Dec-  
ember in the yere M. D. lxxvij, late  
in the evening, as he was saying the  
Nocturne of the Mattins for the next  
day folowving, and vvas presently sent to prison  
vpon suspicion of Papistrie, as they terme the Ca-  
tholike faith.

His apprehension.

And after v or vij daies, he vvas brought furth  
to be examined, before the high commissioners, and  
there they tendered the othe of the Q. supremacie  
vnto him, the which othe he refused to take, and  
being asked why he would not swveare, answered  
because he neuer had heard or read that any laye  
Prince could haue that preeminence: and being fur-  
ther demaunded who then was the head of the  
Church, he answered sincerely and boldly. *That*  
*the*

He is examined of his faith.

He refuseth the othe of the supremacie.

He maketh  
a true con-  
fession.

The English  
religion is  
schismatical  
and hereti-  
cal.

Schisme.

They seek  
to entrappe  
him.

They driue  
men into the  
compasse of  
treason, of  
purpose.

His arraig-  
ment.

His constan-  
ce of minde.

the Pops Holines was to whom that supreme autho-  
rity in earth was due, as being *Christ's vicar* and the  
lawful successor of *S. Peter*.

Secondly they asked him his opinion of the  
religion now practized in England, to which he  
answered promptly, that it was both schismatical  
and heretical. Whereupon they bid him define  
what schisme was, he told them that it was a vo-  
luntary departure from the unity of the Catholike Roman  
faith.

Then they inferred, what, as the Queene a  
schismaticke or no? he answered he could not tel,  
because he knew not her minde in setting furth  
or manteyning of the religion now publicly used  
in England. The commissioners replied, that the  
Q. did both promulgar it, and manteine it, and vr-  
ging him, that if she so did, then whether she were  
a schismaticke and heretike or no?

M. Nelson payed a while, as being looth to  
exasperat his prince if he might haue chosen, but yet  
more loth to offend God and his owne conscience,  
or to geue scandal to the world, answered condi-  
tionally after this sort: If she be the setter furth  
(quoth he) and defender of this religion now practized

in England, then she is a SCHISMATIKE and a  
HERETIKE. Which answer when they had  
wroge from him, they said he had spoken inough,  
they sought for no more at his handes.

And so he was desmised and sent backe to pri-  
son. And about viij. weekes after, he was brought  
furth to his arraignment, and the same interroga-  
tories propunded againe, and he answering stil  
the selfe same to euery question, as he had donne  
before, sentence of death was prononced against  
him, as against one guiltie of treason, the first day  
of february, the yere 1578.

When the sentence was pronoced against him,  
he neuer changed his countenance, nor there neuer  
appeared

appeared in him any signe of a troubled minde; but  
toke his condemnation very meekly, and prepared  
himself with a good courage for death. The gal-  
lours wife, moued vwith compassion, offered him  
v wine; thereby as she thought to alluage the he-  
umies of his minde, but he vould not tast it, saying  
he rather desired a cup of cold vwater, as more meet  
for him. And from the houre the sentence was  
pronounced againt him, til the houre of his death  
he tooke no other foode but bread and final beere.

He did vo-  
luntarily  
accepte  
his condem-  
nation.

He was so delited with prater and secret me-  
ditation, that he would not heare of any other  
things willingly. Especially if they were wordly  
matters. In so much that vwhen a friend of his (for  
his greater comfort and the more to animate him  
against the terrors of death) wished him to read  
and meditat vpon the liues and deaths of Martyrs,  
as they are set dovvne in the feruice according to  
the vse of Rome, albeit he misliked not of the cou-  
sel, answered yet, that he had inough to occupie  
his minde withal and to meditat vpon ful wel.

His minde  
only vpon  
heauenly  
things.

He vvas ful  
of spirituall  
comforts.

And being put in minde by the same friend, with  
what alacritie and ioye of minde many thousande  
Martyrs had suffered exquisite tormetes for Christs  
sake, and that they neuer complained of shrunke  
thereat, he answered, that that cogitation came  
ofte to his minde, and that he tooke such comfort  
thereof, that he doubted nothing but that he  
should finde and feele the grace of Gods consolati-  
on in the middell of his agonie.

In vwhat  
things he  
specially took  
comfort.

And surely this resolutnes of minde, and wil-  
lingnes to dye, came of this, that the Thursday be-  
fore his arraignmet and death, he had clenfed his  
conscience by confession, and had fortified him  
self by receiuing the B. SACRAMENT of the  
ALTAR. For a prielt coming to visit him, vwith  
others in his companie, desirous to communicat

The cheefe  
causes of his  
comforts.

It was Gods  
special pro-  
vidence that  
he should  
so resolve.

abnien 214

noqr ylad

xtanused

aguid

It was Gods  
special pro-  
vidence that  
he should  
so resolve.

His cheer-  
fulness in  
God.

at M. Nelsons hands, wishing it might be upon *Candelmas day* because of the solemnity of the feast, but after they had considered on the matter a while they say it was no fit day, because such festinal daies are more subject to suspition then other daies are, and therefore they concluded to defer it till the day after *Candelmas day*, but M. Nelson wished rather to prevent the feast, and to communicate upon the Thursday before, which was done. Though that neither he him self, nor any of his friends, had any the least conjecture, that he should so shortly come to his Martyrdome. And behold the very next day after, word was brought him that on the morrow he should be arraigned, and undoubtedly condemned, if he did not reuoke his former wordes, and so it fell out in deed as you haue hard.

Vpon Munday the iij of February being the day of his Martyrdome, he came, very early before day, vp to the higher part of the prison: whereas from saterday til then, he had been kept in a low dungeon. Tyvo of his neereft kinsmen comming vnto him, found him earnest at his prayers with his hands ioyned together and lifted vp, in so much that the other prisoners there present, did both marke it and vounder at it much.

Vhen they had talked a while together, & he seeing them so full of sorrow, that they had much ado to abstaine from weeping, yet for al that was nothing moued him self, neither gaue any signe or apparace of sorow either in voice or countenance. but rebuked them saying, that he looked for some comfort and consolation of them in that case, and not by their reares be occasioned to greefe and sorrow of minde. Vvilling them farther, to lament and weepe for their owne finnes and not for him. for he had a sure confidence that al should goe well with him.

Vhen

When his kinsmen took their last farewell of him, they fell into such immoderate tears and lamentations, that he was somewhat moved therewith, but staid and repressed nature by and by, and so dismissed them. And they were no longer gone, but two proud Ministers of Satan came unto him, seeking by all means to remove him from his faith, but in vaine: for he vicerly refused to have any make with them, willing them to let him be quiet, and so they did, and departed from him.

The Duke Ministers, had no power over him.

When he was brought forth of the prison, and to be laide upon the hurdle, some of the officers exhorted him to aske the Q. M. whom he had highly offended, forgiveness, he answered, I will aske her no pardon, for because I never offended her, which words the people that stood about him ragged, and threatened him, that if he would not, he should be hanged like a traitor as he was, yet (saith he) Gods will be done, I praye that I may die, and surely I am ready to die with a good will, for better it is to abide at punishment, be it never so grievous, then to suffer the eternal torment of hell fire.

His innocencie.

His willingness to dye.

Being come to the place of execution, and put into the cart the first words he spake were, In manus tuas domine. &c. then he besought such of the standers by as were Catholikes, to pray with him, and for him, saying either in Latin or English, the *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the *Credo*, which he him self said in Latine, adding thereto the *Cosmos*, and the *Psalmes Miserere*, and *De profundis*, which finished turning him self round about to all the people, said unto them in this sort: I call you all this day to witnes, that I dye in the veritie of the *CH*ristian religion, and for that veritie do now most willingly suffer my blood to be shed. And therefore I beseech God, and request you all to pray for the same, that it would please God of his great mercie, to make you and all others that are not

His prayer at his death.

A notable profession &c his prayer.

not, yet to Catholique men, and to them self and  
die in the roine of our holy mother the Church  
THE ROMAN CHURCH.

The decel-  
ued peoples  
damer.  
and had  
ste protect  
for his pe-  
secutors.

At the which words the people cried out, hence,  
away with thee and thy Catholike Romish Faish:  
but this, notwithstanding, he repeated the same  
praises againe. Then he requested to be forgiven of  
all men, as if he were absent as present, if he had offended  
any, protesting that he forgave all his enemies and  
persecutors, desiring God also to forgive them.  
Here againe he was villed to aske the Ky Vorge-  
ness, the which he refused to do for a while, at  
the last he said, If I have offended but one man,  
I aske him, and all the world forgive me, pay I for-  
giveness.

onni illi  
sine

And so the hangman being villed to dispatch,  
M. Newby raised a litle while to himselfe, and then  
requested such of the assembly as were Catholikes  
to pray with him, that, with them by the merites of  
his life, he might receive his soul into ever-  
lasting life. When the carer was drawn away,  
a great number cried with loud voice, and persue  
his soule.

His last pra-  
ier.

He was cru-  
elly execu-  
ted.

He was executed before he was halfe dead,  
dissembled and tripped up, and as the hangman  
plucked out his bare backe, he lifted him selfe up, and  
as some that stood neere report, spake these wordes,  
I forgive the Q. and al that were causes of my  
death. But I thought for his lipps, none yet heard  
any so much, and the hangman had up on his blowes  
on his head, before he could strike it off. His quar-  
ters were hanged in foure gates of the citie, and  
his head set vpon London Bridge: and thus he  
changed this mortal life with immortalitye. God  
be blessed for him, and blessed be the memorie  
of this his Martyrdom amongst men in all our  
posteritie. Amen.

elation A  
of noisles  
his price.

And so this was the end of the life of this  
man, who was called M. Newby.

This man from his youth had the use of God  
of his houle exceedingly, desiring ever to have  
the knowlege of the truth, specially since he was  
made priest and instructed beyond the seas, the first  
great negligence that most men of our Country,  
eue Catholics, in the beginning of this Q. raigne  
comitted, in going to the Comunion, Church and  
seruile of heretikes, much glorifying God, that he  
vouchsafed afterward to open that error to the peo-  
ple, and to geue to so many the grace of reconcilia-  
tion and constance to resist that vickednes: and to  
follow the example of their cheefe pastors therein,  
the holy Bishops and Confessors, that then were  
deprived and in prison for the same.

Note this  
point wel.

After his death it is credibly reported, that some  
sicke persons were restored miraculously to health  
by his holy Reliques. And a man worthy of al cre-  
dit, riding downe from Londo northward streight  
vpon his execution, spake these vvordes, to a graue  
person that told me the storie, It is now come to  
passe (said he) that Iohn Nelson foretold me yeres  
since: *That he should dye for the Catholike faith.* And  
diuers others may vvel remember, how he would  
often times say: That the Catholike religio would  
neuer be restored in England, vntil many I should  
shed their blood for confession and testimonie of  
the same.

He foretold  
his ovne  
death, and  
this perse-  
cution.

Vvhich vve may vndoubtedly take, both for a  
prophecie of this great persecution, and also for  
the conuersion of our countrey, through the accep-  
table cry of so much holy innocent blood, so mee-  
kely yielded on the one side, and so vniuersally spilled  
on the other. Vvhich God graunt for his Sonnes  
sake, the Head and revwarder of al these blessed  
Martyrs.

The Martyrdom of Thomas Shervod, 1578.  
the vii. of February.

This



**H**is was a lay man and yong of  
yeres, but by the special grace of God  
and his fathers, a holy Confessors  
example and instruction, exceedingly  
geuen to the Catholike faith, pietie &  
great penance. He was apprehended in the streets  
of London ready to goe ouer to the seminarie at  
Remes; by the wickednes of *Martine Tregemien*.  
Vwho by ill company and education became a Cal-  
uinist, and vpon suspicion that this yong man  
brought Priests to say Masse in his mothers house,  
who vvas a good Catholike lady; meeting him by  
chance in London cried, A traitor, A traitor, stay,  
stay the traitor.

Vwherevpon the people durst do no lesse, but  
if theyv out of their shoppes and apprehend him; so  
they brought him to the Recorder, his accuser ha-  
uing nothing in the world to charge him vwith al;  
but because it vvas for suspicion of religion, they  
quickly entrapped him by interrogatories of *Pans*  
*quins*. But, of the excommunication, of the Q reli-  
gion, and whether she was an *heretike*, and of her  
spiritual soueraintie: vnto al which when he  
answerd like a true Christian man, both then and  
afterward at this arraignment, after about vi mo-  
nethes miraculous constancie, suffering of most  
cruel dungeons, yeons, famine and racking, almost  
to death, being the first that vvas racked for mere  
matter of faith in our memories, at length, the day  
and yere above specified, he vvas carried to Ty-  
borne, hanged cut downe, boyeled a liue, and so  
decided and set vp his head and quarters, he glo-  
riously take his leaue of the world, and is receiued  
into the eternal tabernacles in glorie and felicitie  
eternal.

GENTIL READER, CONSIDER OVR  
difficulties in printing, and beare vvith the  
faults escaped vs.



